

H. Soames

THE
ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH:
ITS
HISTORY, REVENUES, AND
GENERAL CHARACTER.

BY HENRY ✓ SOAMES, M.A.

AUTHOR OF
THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

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TO
THE REVEREND
HUGH CHAMBRES JONES, M.A.

ARCHDEACON OF ESSEX, AND TREASURER OF ST. PAUL'S
CATHEDRAL, LONDON

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,
AS A TESTIMONY OF DEEP RESPECT FOR A HIGHLY EFFICIENT AND
ACCEPTABLE DISCHARGE OF IMPORTANT OFFICIAL DUTIES;
FOR QUALITIES OF HEAD AND HEART,
THAT CHRISTIANISE AND EMBELLISH PRIVATE LIFE;
AND FOR A DISINTERESTED VIEW OF ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE
AS A PUBLIC TRUST, BY HIS

OBLIGED AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

Furneux Pelham,
March 5, 1835.

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PREFACE.

IN preparing the *Bampton Lectures* of 1830, it became obvious that the subject could not be thoroughly understood, without various historical details and miscellaneous particulars, inadmissible in a limited course of sermons. Materials for supplying these deficiencies were naturally accumulated while the undertaking was in progress. Many more have been collected since. Late events appeared to give encouragement for completing, arranging, and publishing this mass of information. England is overspread, more or less completely, with endowed places of religious worship, uniform in doctrine and discipline, of very ancient foundation, and immemorially protected by the State. It has, also, no small number of religious endowments, far from uniform as to doctrine or discipline, and of no ancient foundation, but fully protected by the State. The propriety of such protection, in the latter case, has been conceded by all parties. It seems to have occurred to no man that these

modern foundations are become public property, because they are no longer private inheritances. Hence we have heard nothing of their just liability to seizure for any purpose whatever, either religious, or local, or fiscal; nor have individual holders been tempted by a prospect of appropriating to their own emolument such parts of them as may fortunately be in their hands. Hitherto this line of argument has been reserved for our ancient religious foundations. These are often treated not only as mere creatures of some legislative act, but also as justly convertible by like authority, to any purpose, either public or private, or to both conjointly, as expediency or accident may suggest. The enactment, however, which this view assumes, has not found admittance into collections of the national records; certainly an extraordinary fate for such a statute. Nor is it less unaccountable that no trace of it appears in those monkish chronicles which comprise our ancient history, and which are ordinarily copious, nay, even rhetorical, when they have to mention some advantage gained by religion. A legislature also that provided churches would hardly overlook the size of parishes. This, however, an uninquiring mind might assign to accident, or caprice. Many rural parishes,

indeed, are so small as to raise the wonder of a townsman, and to render plans, drawn from cases widely different, neither very practicable nor important.

Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical History throws light upon these difficulties. It introduces to notice an active and able Asiatic, our first acknowledged metropolitan, who formed the plan of inducing Englishmen to build and endow churches on their estates, by tempting them, as Justinian had his own countrymen, with the patronage of their several foundations.¹ It shews this policy to have been approved by Athelstan, one of the wisest, most powerful, and most energetic of Anglo-Saxon princes; who strengthened it by granting the rank of thane to such proprietors as would not see their tenants unprovided with a place of worship.² It records an exhortation of the archbishops, given solemnly at a *witena-gemot* early in the eleventh century, to the building of churches "in every place."³ They would hardly have acted thus at such a time, without sanction from the legislature. Thus we find the national authorities urging and alluring opulent individuals to build and endow churches upon their lands, during the whole

¹ See Page 74.

² Page 162.

³ Page 215.

period of nearly four hundred years—from Theodore to the Conquest. It is known, that many of these foundations are of a subsequent date, and, probably, existing parochial subdivisions were not consummated under six hundred years. Our ancient and uniform religious endowments arose then, like the multiform religious foundations of later times, from the spontaneous liberality of successive individuals. Formerly also, as now, there was every variety in the magnitudes of property. Because, however an estate was small, its lord commonly would not rest contented without a church upon it. Nor often did he forbear to shew whose accommodation was first consulted, by placing the new erection close to his own home, although both the chief population, and the house provided for its minister, might be at some distance. Parishes, therefore, owe their actual dimensions to no negligence or caprice, but to the accidental inequalities of private property.

This private origin of English parochial religious foundations is obviously the clue to existing rights of patronage. Hence the verse familiar to canonists, in days when church-building was common, or had lately been so,

*Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, fundus.*¹ X

¹ J. DE ATON, *Const. Legit. totius Regionis Angl.* f. 105.

The patron comes from dowry, building, lands

The church's *dowry* of glebe had notoriously been settled upon it by some land-owner, who likewise raised the fabric, and provided more effectually for the maintenance of its minister, by resigning in his favour one-tenth of all that his own possessions around should hereafter produce. Such public spirit justly demanded a suitable acknowledgment. None could be more so, than a freehold right of selecting, under proper control, that functionary who was to realise the liberal donor's pious intentions. This was nothing beyond an equitable return to an individual, who had not only provided his neighbours with a place of religious worship at his own expense, but had also rendered this liberality available to them, and to those who should come after them, by building a parsonage, by surrendering inalienably a part of his own property as glebe, and by burdening irredeemably the remainder. Undoubtedly the justice thus done to founders has withdrawn a very large number of benefices from professional emulation. But the laity have really no great practical reason to complain of this. They thus, however, draw important pecuniary benefits from the Church, and they are thus additionally bound to respect ecclesiastical rights. A man may have little value for religion, or may

dislike that of his fathers; but surely he cannot be justified in encroaching upon the patrimonies of his kinsmen or neighbours. Now, this character attaches to a great proportion of English parochial preferments. A landowner has presented a younger son to a living in the gift of his family, or another person has invested one child's portion in an advowson, or presentation; advancing like sums to settle his remaining children in secular callings, or situations. Charity forbids a belief that the lay brother can desire, or could even endure, to have the clergyman's portion confiscated to swell his own rent-roll, or pay his own taxes.

Our larger ancient churches have, indeed, been founded by the crown, and so have many of the smaller. But no reasonable or safe principle will allow the denial to such foundations of all that inviolability which rightfully belongs to those that originated in the public-spirited sacrifices of individuals. If even ages of possession are no secure title to a royal grant, many a child of affluence must bid farewell to hereditary splendour, and enter a profession, or sue for a pension.

Undoubtedly the great bulk of our ancient religious revenue arises from tythes, and these may be hastily regarded as wholly derivable

from legislative liberality. But were this undeniable, a new appropriation, advantageous, even temporarily, to any other than the landlord, is obviously very difficult while he remains. It would, however, be a monstrous folly to present individuals of the richest class with a large augmentation to their fortunes, which they have neither inherited nor purchased, and to which, therefore, they have no more just or equitable claim than they have to some adjoining estate. If, instead of such idle prodigality, a fiscal appropriation were advocated, it would be trifling with the hopes of undiscerning occupiers. The tax-gatherer would disappoint them bitterly. For commissioners, clerks, and surveyors, patronised by the ruling party, some fortunes might unquestionably be provided, and many comfortable situations. The pressure of taxation, too, might be somewhat modified, or even lessened. But this advantage, hardly perceptible to individuals, would be fatally counterbalanced by a national disregard of all that ought to render property secure.

A sufficient knowledge of our ancient history gives, however, great reason to doubt the legislative origin of tythes. They seem to have been paid by the Anglo-Saxons before the legislature interfered to enforce them. There

are, in fact, traces of them in every age and country.¹ Hence this appropriation has not unreasonably been considered as dictated by that patriarchal creed, which men have nowhere been able wholly to forget. When an early Anglo-Saxon proprietor, therefore, founded a church, he solemnly dedicated the tythes of his land for its maintenance, without any legal compulsion, or any hesitation or reserve. His foundation was an evidence of his piety; and such a man could feel no disposition to deny a religious claim which even heathens admitted. A similar spirit, however, would inevitably be wanting to some among the representatives or posterity of any man. Individuals would arise eager to forget that they acquired the estate under certain deductions. It was to restrain this dishonourable rapacity, that the Saxon legislature at length interfered, and that repeatedly. At first, it was hoped that solemn injunctions, or ecclesiastical censures, might sufficiently remind selfish men of their duty to religion, and of the terms on which they had become possessed of land. Hence Athelstan's legislature pronounced tythes demandable both upon crops and stock, requiring them to be strictly rendered.² Edmund the Elder again

¹ Page 81.

² Page 161.

gave legislative weight to this injunction.¹ Mere admonition, however, will not long strive successfully against the necessities, artifices, and avarice of mankind. Edgar's legislature was, accordingly, driven to compel, by civil penalties, the due discharge of that claim to which every landowner had found his possessions liable.² A precedent for this act of justice was, indeed, afforded by Alfred's treaty with Godrun. The great king was contented to naturalise a colony of his Danish invaders in the eastern counties; but he would not allow these unwelcome settlers to escape from liabilities immemorially fixed upon their several estates. Well, however, did he know the lawless rapacity with which he had to deal. He, therefore, provided pecuniary fines for keeping the new proprietors to the only terms on which he was willing to place them in possession, or, indeed, considered himself able.³ From his reign more than nine hundred years have now elapsed; from Edgar's, not much less. So long, then, has English landed property been inherited, or otherwise acquired, under a system of protecting by civil penalties those rights to tythe with which proprietors, greatly anterior to Alfred, had burthened their

¹ Page 180.² Pages 191, 192.³ Page 151.

estates. How importantly this immemorial deduction has affected every sale of land, the very numerous tythe-free properties, now in England, afford evidence alike ample and irresistible.

Among such as feel unwillingly the force of this, there are some who would still fain appropriate more than they have purchased or inherited, by making tythes release them, in a great degree, from assessment to the poor. Ordinarily they pour contempt upon antiquity; now they gladly seek its aid. They maintain that tythes were originally granted with a reserve of either one-fourth, or one-third, for charitable purposes. Anglo-Saxon history will shew that views like theirs are of very ancient standing. Evidently there were thanes anxious to regard the religious rent-charge, under which they had acquired their several estates, as an exemption from all further provision for indigence. The papal legates at Calcuith expressly denied this principle:¹ so did Archbishop Odo, a hundred and fifty years later.² It could, undoubtedly, find some shelter under venerable names. The missionary, Augustine, claims a fourth part of the tythes for the poor;³ Egbert, archbishop of York, a third.⁴

¹ Page 107.

² Page 183.

³ Page 40.

⁴ Page 95.

This latter claim could also plead subsequently the great authority of Elfric.¹ But even he lived while the parochial subdivision of England was in progress. Hence came recommendations for the quadripartite or tripartite division of tythes: they arose from the minster-system, and were intended for it. To supersede this, however, in a very great degree, by the universal diffusion of a parochial clergy, was a leading object of national and individual piety during several ages. A reason, then, may readily be found for the silence of both statute and canon law, upon the quadripartite or tripartite division of tythes. The principle has reached posterity under the mere sanction of three celebrated individuals, all guided by foreign canonists, and all chiefly conversant with a clerical body settled round a large church, both to serve it, and to itinerate in the neighbouring country. Scanty as are these authorities, a wary advocate would, probably, dispense with one of them. It appears from Egbert, that the “year’s tenth *sceat* was paid

¹ “The holy Fathers have also decreed, that tythes be paid into God’s Church, and that the priest go to them, and divide them into three parts; one for the reparation of the church, a second to the poor, a third to God’s servants who attend the church.”—JOHNSON’S *Transl. sub ann.* 957. SPELM. i. 578. WILK. i. 253.

at Easter.”¹ If, therefore, his authority be good for a third of the tythes to relieve the poor, perhaps it may be equally good for every tenth groat from the dividends, from the gains of all placemen, trading and professional men, not holding a church benefice, and from all annuities. Nor do Anglo-Saxon monuments refuse to the Church other authority, and that of a more formal character, even for such a claim as this. The laws of Edward the Confessor impose expressly tythes upon trade.² Those, however, who would claim for the poor one-fourth, or one-third of the tythes, need feel but little disappointment from unexpected deficiencies in early canons and enactments. The famous statute of Elizabeth has pretty thoroughly brought their favourite principle into active operation. One-fourth of the tythes, or even more, is commonly insufficient to defray assessments for the poor on that property, the glebe, and the parsonage. Private charity makes inroads upon the remainder to an extent of which persons, unacquainted with clerical expenditure, are very little aware.

¹ Page 97. Wilkins (i. 123) renders the Saxon *cum decimum obolum annuum solvimus*. The *sceat*, however, which answers to his *obolum*, was equivalent to ten *sticas*. Eight of these made a penny, worth a modern three-pence.—HICKES, *Diss. Epist.* 111

² Page 238.

Another fourth of the tythes, or even a larger portion, during an incumbency, is often absorbed by the house, buildings, and chancel, together with dilapidations.

Besides tythes, however, the ancient religious foundations in our parishes are endowed with rent-charges to repair the church, and to supply the exigencies of public worship. It certainly does not appear that these are anterior to the Saxon conversion; they plead no higher authority, then, than that of ancient legislation: this plea they can powerfully urge. *Church-shot* was imposed by Ina;¹ and, in all probability, if his legislature did not follow here a known and approved precedent, its own example quickly acted upon every kingdom of the Heptarchy. Alfred, accordingly, stipulated with Godrun, that, in addition to tythes, *light-shot* and *plough-alms* should be regularly paid by the new Danish proprietors.² As years rolled on, these claims naturally encountered many cases of denial or evasion. Hence, the legislature under Athelstan,³ Edgar,⁴ and Ethelred,⁵ lent them new force, by providing civil penalties for their recovery. The latest of these enactments has an antiquity of more

¹ Page 80.

² Page 151.

³ Page 161.

⁴ Page 192.

⁵ Pages 212, 216.

than eight hundred years : so long, then, at the least, has landed property been inherited, purchased, or otherwise acquired, under a liability to rent-charges, independently of tythes, statutably settled upon our ancient parochial places of worship. Any such rent-charge, settled upon a modern place of worship, though comparatively a mere matter of yesterday, would undoubtedly be claimed as only a debt of justice. Vainly would an occupant plead religious repugnance to such an application of his money : perhaps he might be reminded of Jewish scruples, upon the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar.¹ A sympathy so acute between purse and conscience would certainly have little chance of meeting with respect.

It is true that parochial collectors have long ceased from application for *church-shot*, *light-shot*, and *plough-alms*. Those who delight in throwing unworthy imputations upon the Church, may be at a loss to account for this forbearance. Such as would reason calmly upon known facts, will, probably, view the modern church-rate, raised for the very purposes answered by these ancient payments, as merely their successor and representative. That rate is no offspring, then, of some blind prescription,

¹ St. Matt. xxii. 17.

but as regularly derived from legislative acts, yet extant, as any other public burden. Its name and form, indeed, are changed ; but here the payer has no reason to complain : he probably foresaw this, and easily consented. In country parishes, church rates are trifling, unless under the rare occurrence of extensive works required. For such an emergency, there are some who would again make the tythes alone responsible. Perhaps, as men are fond of an ancient lineage, these reasoners may be glad to learn that their class is as old as Canute at the least : that prince, however, declares, that church-repair rightfully concerns the whole community :¹ nor is any other principle reasonable. The rebuilding, or even the repair of a spacious pile, might absorb the tythes of several years, leaving no remuneration for the duty, if the living were a rectory ; if a vicarage, wholly stripping an unfortunate impropiator of his resources.

If an innovating party were, however, driven into an admission of violence to founders, and hardships to possessors, an apology would, probably, be sought in the Reformation ; but, surely, no precedent is afforded here as to polity. Episcopacy was rooted in this country

¹ Page 236.

on the Saxon conversion : hence every ancient religious foundation was established with an eye to place it under the superintendence of a bishop. When, therefore, episcopal incumbents were superseded under the Commonwealth by Presbyterians, undoubtedly violence was done to those pious intentions which gave us our ancient churches. But of any such injustice the Reformation is guiltless ; it left religious endowments, of remote establishment, under the very kind of governance that had been originally provided for them.

It likewise left untouched the exterior condition of all parochial incumbents, and of the dignitaries in some cathedrals. None of these were disturbed in their rights, revenues, or privileges, if only willing to recognise the principles regularly sanctioned by their own body, constitutionally consulted. It is true that all restraint was withdrawn upon their discretion as to marriage ; but ancient ecclesiastical history shews no departure here from the intentions of those to whom we owe our churches. It exhibits clergymen ordinarily married, whether employed about a cathedral or in a rural parish. Clerical marriages, in fact, although eventually pronounced uncanonical and rendered penal, were never illegal : nor was free license for them any thing else than a

return to that principle which had originally prevailed.

It is the same with the substitution of canons for monks in a few cathedrals. Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history stamps the Benedictines as intruders, and their expulsion as an act of justice to founders.¹ The Reformation, therefore, affords no precedent bearing either upon polity or station, for interference with the clergy, termed secular by Romanists. Of that ancient body, the present ecclesiastical estate of England is the lineal successor and the lawful representative.

Nor did the Reformation make any change in our Church's orthodoxy. It was one of Theodore's earliest cares to settle a national establishment upon the principle of assent to the first four general councils:² exactly the same base was laid by the Reformers. At Calcuith this base was somewhat widened; assent being there given to the first six general councils.³ But Elfric subsequently shews that this extension was not viewed as interfering with Theodore's original principle:⁴ it was not, in

¹ Pages 196, 202, 203. ² Page 72. ³ Page 107.

⁴ "These four synods are to be regarded as the four books of Christ in his Church. Many synods have been holden since; but yet these are of the greatest authority."—JOHNSON'S *Transl.* SPELM. i. 581. WILK. i. 254.

fact, material ; it was little more than a fuller admission of those doctrines which have been pronounced orthodox by the consent of ages.¹ If the Reformers, therefore, had afforded entrance to any such opinions as pass under the name of Unitarian, obvious injustice would have been done to that liberality which has provided our ancient religious endowments. To this innovation, however, Cranmer and his friends were no more inclined than Theodore himself: they jealously guarded the great landmarks of belief which antiquity has established, and which the founders of our churches were equally scrupulous in respecting.

In one capital article of faith, undoubtedly, the Reformation effected a signal change: it banished from our churches a belief in the corporal presence ; but how this had gained possession of them had never been thoroughly examined. It was, however, notoriously a doctrine solemnly affirmed by no earlier leading ecclesiastical assembly than the fourth Lateran council ; a body sadly late² for adding to the creed, and about which scholars out of Italy

¹ The fifth general council is the second of Constantinople, assembled in 553 : it condemned the errors of Origen. The sixth general council is the third of Constantinople, assembled in 680 : it condemned the Monothelites.

² 1215.

were, besides, divided in opinion. Eventually, the Council of Trent stamped a new authority upon transubstantiation.¹ But there was no reason why England should assent : her voice was not heard in the deliberations. Her authorities, however, were then investigating the question at home, and they came to a different conclusion. An independent body was fully justified in acting thus in any case, for which, direction would be vainly sought from ancient councils. In this case, the authorities of England were *more* than justified. In expelling transubstantiation from our churches, they prevented a leading doctrine from being taught in them, which their founders had expressly repudiated. The disclaimer of ancient England is, perhaps, even stronger here than that of modern. Had transubstantiation, then, when first regularly examined by the national authorities, been imposed upon incumbents, a like violence would have been done to the piety which provided our ancient religious endowments—that was done when Episcopalians were ejected—and that would be done if Unitarians were admitted.

¹ In 1551. The *Forty-two Articles* were agreed-upon in 1552.

In common with her continental neighbours England had adopted other doctrines, and religious usages, found embarrassing on the revival of learning. Scholars vainly sought authority for them in Scripture, or in the earlier monuments of theology, or in conciliar decisions of acknowledged weight: hence arose a general anxiety for the solemn and sufficient investigation of these difficulties. On the continent, this call was answered in some degree at Trent; in England, by an appeal to the national authorities. Again, the two parties disagreed: English divines rejected principles and practices unsupported by Scripture, or primitive antiquity, or universal recognition. Evidently here, too, an independent body was fully justified: nor was violence done to those intentions which had endowed the secular clergy. Image-worship had been indignantly rejected in ancient England.¹ Of other principles abandoned by the Reformers, no one, excepting transubstantiation, had attracted any particular notice. Anglo-Saxon monuments offer dubious traces of them, but no more: undoubtedly they were not received as articles of faith. Appeals against them have, accord-

¹ Page 110.

ingly, been often made, and far from rashly, to our ancient Church. They were, in fact, lingering remains of exploded Paganism, which had defied extirpation, and which a spirit of insidious compromise had gradually invested with something of a Christian character. But even when a firm footing had been gained by these excrescences, they had no operation upon discipline, and rarely bore upon any vital question of doctrine; they merely came before a reflecting mind as unexamined admissions of one age, which were fairly open to revision from another. If that other should decide upon pruning them away, evidently the religious fabric, both spiritual and visible, would retain its full integrity and purity. With such questions as our Lord's divinity, transubstantiation, and episcopacy, the case is widely different.

Attention to subjects of so much interest may be invited, it is hoped, neither unusefully nor unacceptably. The religion of our fathers and its venerable endowments are now become, more than usually, topics of discourse; yet few appear to enter upon these discussions under the advantage of previous inquiry. For this, perhaps, a reason may be found in the books containing such of the required information as has been already published. These are generally

neither of modern date, nor likely to meet the eye of general readers, nor to engage their notice. The present undertaking, therefore, may afford facilities for extending an acquaintance with many facts, now demanding urgently correct opinions : it offers also some particulars not hitherto before the public ; and it may complete modern collections upon our earlier affairs, by a fulness of detail where points occur of little prominence in civil history. Care has been taken to keep the work within moderate dimensions. No fact, it is believed, of any moment has either been omitted, or hastily passed over ; but various persons and incidents, mentioned in older books, do not appear in this, because they are neither interesting nor important to posterity. From this desire of excluding every thing unnecessary, the intention of closing the volume by a copious Appendix was abandoned. Several Saxon pieces were prepared for the press ; but, although useful, they were very far from indispensable, and their insertion would have augmented considerably both bulk and expense. No document has, accordingly, been printed, except the record of Edgar's two legislative assemblies : these have been hitherto overlooked, although well deserving notice. It

was needful, therefore, to print the authority on which they appear in the present work. One of the places mentioned has not been identified; nor has it been found possible to give a literal translation of some sentences in the record.

INTRODUCTION.

CONVERSION OF ANCIENT BRITAIN—ATTRIBUTED VARIOUSLY TO APOSTLES—JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA'S ALLEGED SETTLEMENT AT GLASTONBURY—LUCIUS—CHRISTIAN BRITAIN EPISCOPAL FROM THE FIRST—ST. ALBAN, THE BRITISH PROTOMARTYR—INTRODUCTION OF ARIANISM—PELAGIANISM—ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS.

WITHIN little more than a century from our Saviour's passion, Justin Martyr¹ asserted, that every country known to the Romans contained professors of the Christian faith. Britain, he does not, indeed, expressly mention; but it has allowably been inferred, from his testimony, that her population had then become acquainted with the Gospel.² Irenæus adds probability

¹ A. D. 140 is the age assigned by Cave (*Hist. Lit.* Lond. 1688, p. 36) to Justin Martyr. He appears from Tatian (*Contra Græcos*, ad calcem Just. Mart. Paris, 1636, p. 157,) to have been put to death by the machinations of Crescens, a philosopher, whose enmity he had incurred by an exposure of his hypocrisy. This martyrdom happened in the year 166. "The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle sets the death of S. Justin down in this year, and we have not any certainer proof."—DU PIN's *Eccl. Writers.* Engl. Transl. Lond. 1696. i. 51.

² Οὐδὲ ἐν γὰρ ὅλῳς ἐστὶ τὸ γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἤτε βαρβάρων, ἤτε Ελλήνων, ἤτε ἀπλῶς φντίνῃν ὀνόματι προσαγορευομένων, ἢ ἀμαξοβίων, ἢ αἰκῶν καλεσμένων, ἢ ἐν σκηναῖς κτηνοτρόφων οἰκόντων, ἐν οἷς μὴ διὰ τῆς ὀνόματος τῆς σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων γίνονται.—S. JUST. MART. *cum Tryphone Judæo Dialogus.* Ed. Thirlby. Lond. 1722, p. 388. Ed. Paris, 1636, p. 345.

to this inference.³ He speaks in one place of our holy religion as propagated to earth's utmost bounds by the apostles and their disciples. In another, he names the Celts among nations thus enlightened.¹ A Celtic race was then seated in the British isles, and may reasonably be included, especially when Justin's language is recollected, within the enumeration of Irenæus. All doubt, however, upon the early conversion of our island, is removed by the testimony of Tertullian. He speaks of British districts *inaccessible to Roman arms but subdued by Christ*.² Had not the faith of Jesus obtained considerable notice in more polished quarters of the island, it would hardly have won a way into its remoter regions. Tertullian's authority, therefore, establishes abundantly, that when the second century closed,³ Christianity was far from a novelty among the tribes of Britain. Great probability is thus given to that statement of Eusebius,

³ Assigned by Cave, (*Hist. Lit.* 40.) to the year 167. He appears to have been born A. D. 97, and to have lived beyond the age of 90.

¹ Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβῶσα τὴν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν ἕρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν. (D. Iren. adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 2. Lut. Par. 1675, p. 50.) Καὶ ὅτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἰδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, ἔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, ἔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς.—*Ibid.* c. 3. p. 52.

² “Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.” *Tertull. adv. Judæos.* Lut. Par. 1664, p. 189.

³ Tertullian's birth is considered by Cave to have taken place before the middle of the second century. “The treatise *adversus Judæos* is supposed by Pamelius to have been written in the year 198; by Allix, after Baronius, in 208.”—Bp. KAYE *on the Writings of Tertullian.* Camb. 1826, p. 50.

which attributes British acquaintance with the Gospel to *some of the apostles*.¹ Hence also the mind is prepared for assenting to the obscure intimation of Gildas, the earliest of our national historical writers, which would lead us to conclude that the light of Christianity had shone upon his countrymen before their signal defeat under Boadicea.²

The high antiquity of Britain's conversion being thus established, her authors have naturally been desirous of connecting it with some of the more illustrious names in religious history. Among the apostles, accordingly, James the son of Zebedee and brother of John, Simon Zelotes, Simon Peter, and St. Paul, have been variously named as the evangelists of our island. The first three cases are not, however, supported by sufficient authority to render them worthy of more than a passing notice.³ Of St. Paul's personal services to Britain, there are presumptions of some weight. Clemens Romanus affirms that great apostle to have preached as far as *the utmost bounds of the west*.⁴ St. Jerome says, that he imitated the Sun of

¹ Ἐτέρας ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλεσμένας Βρετανικάς νήσους.—EUSEB. *Demonst. Evang.* l. 3. c. 7. Par. 1628, p. 112.

² “Interea glaciali frigore rigent insulæ quæ velut longiore terrarum secessu. Soli visibili non est proxima, verus ille non de firmamento solum temporali, sed de summa etiam cœlorum arce tempora cuncta excedente, universo orbi præfulgidum sui lumen ostendens Christus suos radios, id est sua præcepta indulget, tempore ut scimus summo Tiberii Cæsaris, quo absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur religio.”—GILDAS *de Excidio Britanniaë, inter Monumenta S. Patrum*. Bas. 1569, p. 833.

³ The evidence upon which these cases rest, and remarks upon it, may be seen in Abp. Usher's *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* p. 3.

⁴ Διὰ ζήλον ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἀπέσχευ, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, ῥαβδευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς, κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ

Righteousness in going from one ocean to the other,¹ and that his evangelical labours extended to *the western parts*.² By such expressions Britain was commonly understood.³ Theodoret accordingly asserts, that St. Paul *brought salvation to the isles in the ocean*.⁴ Elsewhere he mentions the Britons among converts of the apostles.⁵ In another place he says, that St. Paul, after his release from imprisonment, went to Spain, and thence carried the light of the Gospel to *other nations*.⁶ In the sixth century, Venantius Fortunatus,⁷ and in the seventh, Sophronius, patriarch

δύσει, τὸ γεναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγμα τῆς δύσεως ἰλδῶν.—S. CLEMENS *ad Cor.* inter *SS. Patres. Apost.* Coteler. Lut. Par. 1672, p. 94.

¹ Qui (Paulus) vocatus a Domino, effusus est super faciem universæ terræ, ut prædicaret evangelium de Hierosolymis usque ad Illyricum, et ædificaret non super alterius fundamentum, ubi jam fuerat prædicatum, sed usque ad Hispanias tenderet, et a Mari Rubro, imo ab Oceano usque ad Oceanum curreret; imitans Dominum suum et solem justitiæ.”—HIERON. *in Amos*. l. 2. c. 5. Par. 1602, tom. v. col. 249.

² “ Ut Evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicaret.”—HIERON. *Catal. Script. Eccl.* Opp. tom. i. col. 349.

³ “ Fuisti in ultima Occidentis insula.”—CATULL. *in Cæsar.* Carm. xxix. Stillingfleet (*Antiqu. Brit. Ch.* p. 38,) produces many other authorities to shew that Britain was esteemed the *extreme west*.

⁴ Καὶ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῇ πελάγει διακεκρυμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκε.—B. THEOD. *Interpr. in Psalm.* 116. Opp. Lut. Par. 1642, tom. i. p. 871.

⁵ Καὶ Βρεττανὺς — καὶ ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γενὸς ἀνθρώπων δέξασθαι τῷ σταυρωθέντος τὰς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν.—THEODORET. *Sermo*. 9. *de Legib.* Opp. tom. iv. p. 610.

⁶ Ὡς ἀδᾶος ἀφείδη, καὶ τὰς Σπανίας κατέλαβε, καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ἔθνη δραμὼν, τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας λαμπάδα προσήνεγκε.—THEOD. *in Epist.* 2. *ad Timoth.* Opp. tom. iii. p. 506.

⁷ Apud Usser. *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* p. 4.

of Jerusalem,¹ speak expressly of St. Paul's mission to Britain. Upon the whole, therefore, a native of our island may fairly consider the great Apostle of the Gentiles as not improbably the founder of his national Church.²

The Greek Menology asserts, that Aristobulus, whom St. Paul salutes in his Epistle to the Romans,³ was ordained by him bishop of the Britons, and established a church among them.⁴ Two individuals also, Pudens and Claudia, greeted in the Second Epistle to Timothy,⁵ have been identified with a married couple mentioned by Martial, of whom the lady was a Briton.⁶ It is of course inferred, that Claudia must have been zealous to spread that holy faith among her pagan countrymen, which she and her husband had happily embraced. Of all scriptural

¹ Magdeburg. Centur. et alii. *Ibid.*

² Bp. Burgess, while he filled the see of St. David's, laid before the clergy of that diocese, in a very learned and able charge, the evidence for St. Paul's mission to Britain, and he thus states his own conviction upon the question: "We may finally conclude that the testimony respecting St. Paul's preaching in *the utmost bounds of the west*, that is, in *Britain*, is indisputable."—*Tracts on the Origin and Independence of the Ancient British Church*. Lond. 1815, p. 52.

³ Rom. xvi. 10.

⁴ See the passage in Usher. *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* p. 5.

⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 21.

⁶ "Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti."—MART. lib. iv. epigr. 13. *ad. Ruf.* The particular country of this *foreign* lady appears from the following passage in another epigram:

"Claudia cœruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, quam Latiae pectora plebis habet!"

Id. lib. xi. epigr. 53.

personages, however, Joseph of Arimathea has been most extensively regarded as the British apostle. Being despatched, we are told, from Gaul by St. Philip, he was allowed to fix himself with his twelve companions at Glastonbury, then ordinarily called the isle of Avalon.¹ Against this relation, though long undisputedly current, a fatal objection, however, arises from the silence of Saxon authorities. Glastonbury was a place renowned for sanctity among many generations preceding the Norman conquest; indeed, probably from times of the most remote antiquity.²

¹ "Sanctus autem Philippus, ut testatur Freculphus, lib. ii. cap. 4, regionem Francorum adiens, gratiâ prædicandi, plures ad fidem convertit et baptizavit. Volens igitur verbum Christi dilatari, duodecim ex suis discipulis elegit, et ad evangelizandum verbum vitæ misit in Britanniam: quibus, ut ferunt, charissimum amicum suum, Joseph ab Arimathia, qui et Dominum sepelivit, præfecit. Venientes igitur in Britanniam, anno ab incarnatione Domini sexagesimo tertio, ab assumptione beatæ Mariæ decimoquinto, fidem Christi fiducialiter prædicabant. Rex autem barbarus quandam insulam sylvis, rubis, atque paludibus circumdatam, ab incolis Ynswitrin nuncupatam, in lateribus suæ regionis ad habitandum concessit."—MALMESB. *De Antiqu. Glaston. Eccl.*, ap. USSER. *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* p. 7.

² "In ea" (Glestonia, sc.) "siquidem ipsius loci primi catholicæ legis neophytæ antiquam dō dictante reppererunt ecclesiam, nulla hominum arte constructam, immo humanæ saluti celitus patratam." (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Cleopatra. b. 13. f. 61.) This extract is made from an octavo volume of high antiquity, and of uncommon interest; the life of Dunstan, which supplies the citation above, having been written by a contemporary, and the particular MS. having been consulted by William of Malmesbury, Josselin (who compiled, under Abp. Parker's direction, the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*), and Abp. Usher. These curious facts appear from the following entries in contemporary hands, f. 58:

"Hunc librum, cuius auctor, ut apparebit lectori, claruit tempore ipsius Dunstani, de quo agit, reperi inter veteres libros manu-

Encompassed by watery marshes and sluggish streams, its British name was *Ynys vitryn*, the *Glassy Isle*. Among pagans, islands had commonly borne a sacred character, and Christian teachers were naturally willing to make use of spots and erections which exploded heathenism had not only rendered suitable, but also by religious rites had invested with popular veneration. The isle of Avalon was probably such a spot.¹ It is likely that Druidism had left there, on its extinction, a residence desirable for the now triumphant Christian teachers, and had rendered their labours more generally acceptable by the sanctity with which it had long distinguished the abode thus provided to their hands. On the Saxon invasion, Avalon's water-locked recesses might have served as a shelter for a congregation of native Christians, and a wattled church of their erection being, probably, found there at a subsequent period, might have been eventually used by the invaders on their own conversion.² Had this ancient

scriptos monasterii Augustinensis Cant. anno Dñi 1565. mens. August.—JOĀ. JOSSELINUS.

“Ibi hunc ipsum librum a Gulielmo Malmesburiensi repertum esse; ex libro ejusdem de Antiquitate Glastoniensis monasterii apparebit.—JA. USSERUS.”

¹ From the following passage in the MS. cited above, f. 63, it might seem that Glastonbury was famed for sanctity so early as the fifth century. Otherwise it is not likely that St. Patrick would have fixed himself there, and that he should be thought to have died there.

“Porro Hibernensium peregrini per dictum locum Glestoniæ, sicut et cæteræ fidelium turbæ magno colebant affectu, et maxime ob beati Patricii senioris honorem; qui faustus ibidem in Dño quievissse narratur.”

² “Ecclesia de qua loquimur (Glest. sc.), quæ per antiquitatem sui celeriter ab Anglis Ealbe cince, id est, *vetusta Ecclesia*, nuncupatur, primo virgea.”—SPELM. *Conc.* i. p. 17.

place of worship been thought to possess pretensions of a character yet more illustrious, it is by no means likely that Saxon veneration for the spot would have overlooked them. We may, therefore, not unreasonably conclude that Joseph of Arimathea's connexion with Glastonbury depends upon no tradition anterior to those Norman times,¹ from which it has descended to posterity.

As much less uncertainty, however, attaches to the date of Britain's conversion than to the names of her evangelists, the case of Lucius can hardly claim the importance often assigned to it. This king of Britain, we are informed, was impressed so much in favour of Christianity, that he sent Eluan and Medwin to Eleutherius, the Roman bishop, for farther instruction.² His ambassadors are said to have been courteously entertained in Rome, instructed in the faith of Jesus, baptized, and finally ordained. On returning home, Lucius is represented to have received baptism by their persuasions, and to have founded a church

¹ "It seems to be a little suspicious, at first view, that so considerable a part of the antiquities of this church should be wholly past by, by the most ancient and inquisitive writers of our affairs; so that neither the true Gildas, nor Asserius, nor Marianus Scotus, nor any of the ancient annals, should take the least notice of this tradition" (respecting Joseph of Arimathea).—STILLINGFLEET'S *Antiqu. of the Brit. Churches*, p. 6.

² Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, i. 4, ed. Wheloc. p. 28.), assigns this application of Lucius to some time within a short distance of the year 156. The alleged conversion, however, of this prince, is rather uncertain as to date. Abp. Usher (*Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* p. 20) has collected, from various writers, no fewer than twenty-three different dates, ranging from 137 to 199, to which that event has been referred.

in Britain, which flourished until the persecution of Diocletian.¹ These transactions have been referred to various dates ; but hardly any authorities will allow us to consider them as anterior to the latter half of the second century. Lucius, then, must have been contemporary with Justin Martyr and Irenæus, and, at farthest, not more than a single generation removed from Tertullian. Now, in the time of the former writers, we have every reason to believe that Christianity had already taken root in Britain. Such is known to have been the fact in Tertullian's days. Lucius, therefore, might seem to have sought from a very distant quarter information which lay within his reach at home. It should, however, be observed, that no notice is taken of any demand for religious instruction in a letter of reply attributed to Eleutherius. From this he seems to have done no more than apply for authentic particulars of Roman jurisprudence.² Although it may, then, be probable that some petty prince, styled in Latin Lucius, was among the earlier of British converts to Christianity,

¹ Bed., i. 4, p. 28.

² See a translation of it in Collier's *Eccl. Hist.*, i. 14. It is a very suspicious document, upon several accounts, especially as to antiquity, not being "met with till a thousand years after Eleutherius's death, and where it was first found is altogether uncertain. The author of the *Customs of London* printed it in the twelfth year of Henry VIII.; afterwards Lambert inserted it among the laws of Edward the Confessor: but here it is printed in an italic letter, as a mark of its being spurious. Hoveden's manuscripts, of about four hundred years standing, take no notice of it; and, which is remarkable, his contemporary, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who did not use to suppress or overlook any British antiquities, says nothing about it."—COLLIER.

yet he can hardly have been contemporary with its introduction to the island. If any, therefore, would fain derive his conversion from papal intervention, and claim authority for the Roman see over every church which its prelates have planted, they must fail of establishing such a claim over Britain from this alleged transaction.

The care, universally marking primitive Christianity, to provide a bishop for every church,¹ necessarily connects the stream of British prelacy with apostolic times. National confusions, by destroying evidence, have, indeed, prevented modern Britain from ascertaining the earliest links in the chain of her episcopal succession. But it is satisfactory to know that her prelates presented themselves upon the first occasion likely to furnish an authentic record of their appearance. Constantine, desirous of terminating the Donatistic schism, convened a council at Arles.² The signatures of three British bishops are appended to the canons there enacted.³

Subsequently, when the younger Constantine and his brother Constans endeavoured to secure religious

¹ Ὁ χωρὶς τῶ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τί πράσσαν, ὁ τοῖς τοῖς μεμλάνται τῇ συνειδήσει, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστευ χείρων.—IGNAT. *ad Trall. inter Mon. S. PP.* p. 10.

² In 314, *Labbe. et Coss.* i. 1422.

³ “Eborius episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia.

“Restitutus episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provincia supracripta.

“Adelfius episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium, exinde sacerdos presbyter: Arminius diaconus.”—*Ibid.* 1430.

By *Civitas Colonia Londinensium*, it is hardly doubtful that Colchester is to be understood.

unity by summoning the principal ecclesiastics to Sardica, this council also was attended by British bishops.¹ Several of that body likewise obeyed the mandate of Constantius, in attending the council of Ariminum, holden a few years later in the fourth century.² Nor has it been considered otherwise than highly probable, that episcopal delegates from Albion were among that most illustrious assembly, the first council of Nice.³

Before Britain thus appeared among ecclesiastical authorities, her constancy was severely tried in the fire of persecution. In common with other parts of the Roman empire, she suffered under that insane and atrocious policy by which Diocletian glutted the vengeance of baffled Paganism. It was during this gloomy reign of terror that St. Alban obtained the crown of martyrdom. When the persecution began, he was a Pagan, but his humanity would not allow him to refuse an asylum under his roof to a proscribed Christian priest. While hospitably sheltered there, the pious clergyman's religious fervour so effectually won Alban's

¹ The Council of Sardica was holden in 347. For the attendance of British bishops there, see Usher (*Brit. Eccl. Antiq.*), p. 105.

² "Ita missis per Illyricum, Italiam, Aphricam, Hispanias, Galliasque, magistris officialibus, acciti ac in unum coacti quadringenti et aliquanto amplius occidentales episcopi, Ariminum convenire: quibus omnibus annonas et cellaria dare Imperator præceperat: sed id nostris, id est, Aquitanis, Gallis, ac Britannis, indecens visum, repudiatis fiscalibus, propriis sumptibus vivere maluerunt. Tres tantum ex Britannia, inopia proprii, publico usi sunt, cum oblatam a cæteris collationem respuissent: sanctius putantes fiscum gravare, quam singulos." — Sulpicii Severi *Hist. Sacr.* l. ii. inter *Mon. S. PP.* p. 539.

³ Usser. *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 105.

reverence, that he readily received instruction in the faith of Jesus. At length the priest's retreat was discovered; but Alban, now a zealous Christian, had become bent upon saving him at every hazard. He dressed himself, accordingly, in his clothes, and thus disguised, he was dragged before the Roman governor. The deception being discovered, he was bidden to choose between sacrificing to the gods, and the punishment intended for his fugitive friend. In answer, he declared himself immovably resolved against offering an insult to his holy faith. He was then tried by scourging, and this proving insufficient to daunt his courage, he suffered decapitation. He resided at Verulam, or Werlamcester, as the Saxons eventually called it. The place of his martyrdom was the hill overlooking the spot then occupied by that ancient city. Here, in after-times, arose the noble abbey of St. Alban's, a worthy commemoration of Britain's earliest blood-stained testimony against Gentile errors. After Alban's example, many other members of the ancient British church surrendered their lives rather than deny their Saviour.¹ Thus, in Britain, as elsewhere, Diocletian's persecution, though serving to render Paganism odious and contemptible, by an exhibition of vindictive rage and impotent intolerance; enabled Christianity, after displaying numerous examples of heroic self-denial, to emerge from a stormy time of trial, more vigorous and illustrious than ever.

Old churches, accordingly, were soon repaired, new ones built, and Christians, who had timidly con-

¹ Hom. in Pass. S. Alban. ap. *Wheloc. in Bed.* p. 36.

cealed themselves during the persecution, again came forward, bringing from their hiding-places an ardent zeal to spread the faith of Jesus.¹ Constantine's accession followed shortly after; when Britain became the seat of a flourishing and extensive church. During the progress of its complete establishment, Arianism distracted the Christian world. This heresy appears, however, to have been slow in reaching the British shores.² At length, seemingly when the fourth century was verging towards a close,³ Arius, already popular in other divisions of the Christian world, found followers in the church of Albion.⁴

An entrance being thus afforded to a spirit of rash vain-glorious disputation, as usual, another enemy to religious peace quickly took advantage of the breach. Pelagius, probably called Morgan

¹ "Nam qui superfuerant, sylvis ac desertis, abditisque speluncis se occultavere, expectantes a justo rectore omnium Deo carnificibus severa quandoque judicia, sibi vero animarum tuta-mina. Igitur bilustro supradicti turbinis, necdum ad integrum expleto, emarescentibusque necis autorem nepharie edictis, lætis luminibus omnes Christi tyrones, quasi post hyemalem ac prolixam noctem temperiem, lucemque serenam auræ cælestis excipiunt, renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt."—GILD. *de Excid. Brit.* p. 834.

² Stillingfleet. *Antiqu. Brit. Ch.* p. 175.

³ Usser. *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* p. 106.

⁴ "Mansit namque hæc Christi capitis membrorum consonantia suavis, donec Arriana perfidia atrox ceu anguis transmarina nobis evomens venena, fratres in unum habitantes exitiabiliter faceret sejungi, ac si quasi via facta, trans oceanum, omnes omnino bestię feræ mortiferum cujuslibet hæreseos virus horrido ore vibrantes, lætalia dentium vulnera patriæ novi semper aliquid audire volenti, et nihil certe stabiliter obtinenti, infigebant."—GILD. *de Excid. Brit.* p. 834.

among his countrymen, by birth a Briton,¹ following a prevailing fashion of his day, resolved upon a residence in Rome. Being remarkable there for piety and mortification, with considerable abilities, although his learning was far behind them, he quickly gained a high degree of credit. His principal companion and warmest admirer was Celestius, an Irishman of great subtlety and readiness of wit. Unfortunately for both these insular ascetics, they became acquainted with Rufinus, who, after having resided in the East for thirty years, had returned into his native Italy deeply tinctured with Origen's peculiar opinions. From this eminent, though injudicious acquaintance, Pelagius and Celestius learned to doubt the doctrine of original sin. They soon proceeded to reason against the necessity of divine grace for fulfilling the will of God. These principles, at first, were cautiously proposed, in conversation chiefly, and rather as questions deserving a fuller examination than they had hitherto received, than as positions entitled to implicit confidence.² By mooting them, however, often and shrewdly, Pelagius rapidly acquired a new hold upon popular attention. Doctrines, indeed, to say nothing of their novelty,

¹ "Pelagius Brito."—BED. *Eccl. Hist.* i. 10. p. 51.

"Patrio nomine *Morgan* dictum fuisse aiunt. *Morgan* autem Britannis *Marigenam*, sive *Pelago ortum* denotat: unde et Latium *Pelagii* deductum est vocabulum."—USSER. *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* p. 112.

² *Ibid.* 110. The Pelagian heresy seems to have arisen about the year 400. (*Ibid.* 114.) For the doctrines of Pelagius, this work of Abp. Usher may be consulted, pp. 117, 122, 123, 129, 170.

so flattering to human pride, could hardly fail of extensively attracting admirers. To arrest their progress, St. Austin laboriously employed his powerful pen. The controversy naturally drew from him strong assertions of grace and predestination: these have occasioned, in modern times, many exulting appeals to his authority. Such passages, however, are probably largely indebted for their force to the strong recoil of ardent passions, and a vigorous intellect wound up in the heat of argument.

After their ill-famed celebrity was gained, neither Pelagius nor Celestius appears to have revisited the British Isles. Their opinions, however, were introduced; chiefly by means of Agricola, son of Severianus, a Gallic bishop. Auxiliaries of native origin, it might seem, seconding Agricola's endeavours, Pelagianism soon became extensively popular in Britain. The leading ecclesiastics remained firm to their ancient principles; but their opposition to the tide of innovation proving insufficient, they requested assistance from the neighbouring church of Gaul. The summons was answered in the persons of Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troyes. These able prelates, by their eloquence in the pulpit, by their influence in private society, and by the arguments which they used in a council convoked at Verulam, succeeded in imposing silence upon the Pelagian party. They then returned to the continent. On their departure, British Pelagianism revived, and the native clergy, again despairing of its extinction by their own unaided powers, implored Germanus to pay their island a second visit.

The pious Bishop of Auxerre, listening readily to this application, took with him Severus bishop of Treves, a disciple of his former coadjutor, and set sail for Britain. Upon this occasion, as upon the former one, the preaching, arguments, and persuasions of the foreign prelates were followed by the complete abasement of Pelagianism. The visitors, however, now were not to be satisfied until they had made effectual provision for perpetuating their triumph. They persuaded, accordingly, their insular friends to act upon an edict of Valentinian, and drive into exile the teachers whose innovating doctrines had caused so much dissension.¹

Soon afterwards the British Church was grievously despoiled of her ancient splendour. The country, abandoned by its Roman masters, became a prey to domestic faction, and to predatory movements of barbarian tribes occupying its northern regions. Intolerable miseries, arising from this latter cause, impelled the harassed and pusillanimous authorities of southern Britain to seek assistance from some restless and intrepid soldiers of fortune, then wandering, as it seems, in quest of plunder.² This impolitic and disgraceful call was promptly answered. The foreign warriors immediately became highly serviceable, and having recommended more extensive invitations to their countrymen, such a force was formed as quickly drove the Picts and Scots back to their mountain-fastnesses. But the victors now

¹ Usser. *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* 176. Stillingfleet's *Antiqu. Br. Ch.* 194.

² Turner's *Hist. Angl. Saxons.* Lond. 1828. i, 254.

cast a longing eye upon the fair fields delivered by their valour. A prize, so noble and unprotected, naturally proved a temptation too great for the cupidity of mere pirates.¹ The bold auxiliaries accordingly became invaders, nor did they cease to struggle for the mastery, until the miserable remains of British power were driven from every seat of its long-established glory, into quarters of the island, remote, inaccessible, and comparatively worthless.

¹ “ Statuunt inter se dividere victores alienigenæ insulam bonis omnibus fecundissimam : indignum judicantes eam ignavorum dominio detineri, que ad defensionem suam idoneis posset prebere sufficientem alimoniam, et optimis viris.” — ABBO. FLORIANCENSIS. *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digby. 109, p. 4.

ANGLO-SAXON ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM AUGUSTINE TO THEODORE.

597—669.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS—OBSTACLES TO THEIR CONVERSION—ETHELBERT AND BERTHA—GROWING DISPOSITION TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY—GREGORY THE GREAT—AUGUSTINE—SUCCESS OF HIS MISSION—CLAIMS MIRACULOUS POWERS—PROPOSES QUESTIONS TO GREGORY—INEFFECTUALLY ENDEAVOURS TO UNDERMINE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH—TEMPORARY CONVERSION OF ESSEX—LAURENTIUS—TEMPORARY CONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA—CONVERSION OF EAST ANGLIA—FINAL CONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA—CONVERSION OF MERCIA—FINAL CONVERSION OF ESSEX—FURSEY—CONVERSION OF WESSEX—CONVERSION OF SUSSEX—TRIUMPH OF THE ROMAN PARTY IN NORTHUMBRIA—DOCTRINES.

ANGLO-SAXON Ecclesiastical History admits of an advantageous distribution into four several portions. The first exhibits a nation passing from Paganism to Christianity, and a foreign church struggling for ascendancy over one of native growth. The second embraces a period in which ancient England made her most conspicuous intellectual progress, and in which were laid securely the foundations of an ecclesiastical establishment. The third is rendered interesting by the splendid services of Alfred, but it paints an age

of national distress, and of literary declension. The fourth is also deeply marked by civil difficulties, and prevailing ignorance. Dunstan has, however, given it a peculiar character, by planting the Benedictine system among Englishmen. Immediately began a serious interference with vested rights, the natural parent of obstinate dissension.

The Anglo-Saxon people sprang from three piratical tribes, of Gothic origin. Two of these were seated in the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese, now known as Jutland, and in three islands off its western coast.¹ The Jutes, probably, lived within that peninsula. The emigration of their tribe does not, however, seem to have been extensive, its British settlements being confined to Kent, the Isle of Wight, and the southern part of Hampshire.² The Angles, whose continental home lay in the modern districts of Sleswick and Holstein,³ emigrated entirely,⁴ and spreading over the north-eastern, midland, and northern coun-

¹ North Strandt, Busen, and Heiligland, or Heligoland. The last of these, now reduced by repeated incursions of the ocean to a mere rock, was anciently of much greater extent than it is at present.—*History of the Anglo-Saxons*, by SHARON TURNER, F.A.S. Lond. 1828, i. 114.

² Bedæ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Ed. Wheloc. Cant. 1643, p. 58. Dr. INGRAM'S *Saxon Chronicle*, Lond. 1823, p. 14.

³ "Porro Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotas, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico Slesuuic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos, Haithaby.—*Chronicum Ethelwerdi*. ed. Savile: inter *Scriptores post Bedam*. Lond. 1596, f. 474.

⁴ "Anglia, which has ever since remained waste." (*Sax. Chr.* 15.) Perhaps, however, this language is not to be understood quite literally, for Bede qualifies it by *perhibetur*.

ties of South Britain, eventually gave name to the whole country. The Saxons, nearest neighbours of these, as coming from that region, between the Eyder and the Elbe, called Old Saxony by our ante-Norman ancestors,¹ found new abodes in Essex, Middlesex, and in those counties, west of Kent, which lie between the Thames and the Channel. That the Angles, no less than the Saxons, were descended from the Teutonic branch of the Gothic family, not the Scandinavian, is attested sufficiently by the Anglo-Saxon tongue. This could hardly fail of exhibiting a closer affinity with the modern Icelandic, had the tribe most conspicuous in planting it on British ground, owned perfect identity of origin with nations yet inhabiting the north-western extremities of continental Europe. Anglo-Saxon, however, is a language assimilating rather with German than Icelandic.²

All these invading tribes were Pagans. Nor were the earlier years of their settlement in Britain favourable to their adoption of the Christian creed. It is true, that the people whose fair possessions lured them from their Scandinavian abodes, had risen into opulence under an abandonment of Gentile errors. This people was aroused, however, into a long course

¹ Bed. 58.

² "That the Angles were a Teutonic race is not only probable, but almost certain, from the fact that the dialect of these invaders so soon coalesced into one common tongue, and assumed a character so decidedly Teutonic, that, with the exception of a few Normanisms, introduced in later times, there is scarcely a vestige deserving notice of the old Scandinavian, or of Danish structure, to be found in the Anglo-Saxon."—Preface to RASK'S *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, translated by THORPE. Copenhagen, 1830, p. xii.

of sanguinary conflict with its treacherous invaders, when it found itself menaced by them with nothing short of slavery or extermination. Hence, during considerably more than a century from Hengist's arrival, South Britain was unceasingly distracted by the various miseries of intestine war.¹ Such a season obviously denies a field to missionary zeal. It is, therefore, probable that the native clergy made no attempt, while their nation yet struggled for existence, to humanise its unrelenting enemies by communicating to them a knowledge of the Gospel. The

¹ Hengist did not establish himself in the kingdom of Kent until after the battle of Aylesford, fought in 455, in which battle his brother Horsa was slain. Thus, as these two brothers first lent their dangerous aid in 449, six agitated years, at least, elapsed between the period of their arrival in Britain, and that of their nation's earliest rational prospect of a secure establishment within the island. (*Sax. Chr.* 15. *Ethelwerd. Script. post Bed.* 474). The Britons did not abandon Kent until after the battle of Crayford, two years later. Nor subsequently did they cease to contend vigorously with the unwelcome colonists. Of these intruders, however, a new body succeeded in planting itself in Sussex, under Ella, soon after 477, the year in which it landed there. In 495, Cerdic landed (probably in Hampshire), and he was enabled eventually to lay the foundations of the kingdom of Wessex; but it was not until after an arduous struggle of twenty-four years. Nor was it then, until after the lapse of about seventy years, that his descendants pushed their conquests to the Somersetshire Avon and the Severn. While this protracted warfare was raging in the south; the east, the north, and the middle of England were successively overrun by Saxons and Angles; principally by the latter. Nor was it before the year 586 that this latter people founded the great midland kingdom of Mercia. Even then, however, the British spirit was not subdued: a few sanguinary contests, occurring at intervals afterwards, plainly shewing that the new comers were necessitated to continue upon the alert against the hostility of the people whom they had dispossessed.

Pagan warriors were besides likely to draw new prejudices against Christianity from the very success which usually waited upon their arms. Britain's trust in the Cross had not secured her fortunes from constant declension : while a reliance upon Woden had been encouraged unceasingly by victory. A people unpractised in sound argumentation, and unacquainted with true religion, would hence hardly fail of concluding that its own deities were more kind, and probably more powerful also, than those of its opponents. Vainly would Christianity solicit the favourable notice of such minds thus prepossessed. It is plain that a considerable change must be wrought in the whole frame of a society like this, before it could be gained over to calm reflection upon the religion of a people prostrate under its assaults.

No sooner, however, had Providence effected such a change, than England, happily, could take full advantage of it. Her principal monarch then was Ethelbert, king of Kent ; a prince whose authority reached the Humber,¹ and who, under the designation of *Bretwalda*,² enjoyed an admitted precedence over all the Anglo-Saxon potentates. This powerful sovereign appears to have ascended his father's throne,

¹ *Bed. ed.* Wheloc. l. i. c. 25, p. 75. Ethelbert, probably, had extorted a tributary acknowledgement, or some other mark of subserviency, from all the petty princes established to the south of the Humber. Malmesbury (*Script. post Bed.* Lond. 1596, 6, 4), speaks of him as having subdued all the Anglo-Saxon nations, except the Northumbrians. But Bede's words hardly seem to bear a construction so wide.

² The Saxon Chronicle (p. 88) says that Ethelbert was the third Anglo-Saxon prince thus distinguished. Ella, king of Sussex,

about the year 560,¹ and probably ten years afterwards,² he married Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of the Franks. This princess, coming of a Christian family, was not allowed to pass over into Kent until ample stipulations had been made for the free profession of her holy faith. She came, accord-

was the first, and Egbert, king of Wessex, the last *Bretwalda*. Of this designation it seems impossible to define the exact import. Mr. Turner has shewn that it could not have arisen from an absolute conquest over the contemporary sovereigns. That it implied, however, a considerable degree of influence over the whole, or the greater part of England, must necessarily follow from the language of Bede. See *Hist. of Angl. Sax.* i. 331.

¹ Bede's text is made to say that Ethelbert died in the year 613, after a reign of fifty-six years. (l. ii. c. 5, p. 119). This account throws his accession back to the year 557. This is the year, accordingly, assigned to that event by the Saxon Chronicle (p. 25). But the ancient chronicler here makes Ethelbert to have reigned no more than 53 years. According to this portion of his narrative, therefore, the Kentish *Bretwalda* must have died in 610. Afterwards, however (p. 30), the Saxon Chronicle makes Ethelbert to have died in 616, and to have reigned 56 years. With these dates Henry of Huntingdon agrees. (*Script. post Bed.* f. 187). Malmesbury contents himself with remarking the discrepancy between the ancient authorities, and desiring his readers to form their own opinion as to the facts. (*Ibid.* f. 4). Had he known King Alfred's translation of Bede, he would have been at no loss to decide upon the subject himself. That illustrious remnant of our great monarch's literary labours makes Ethelbert to have died *about the year* 616. Now, as Alfred follows his author's printed text in assigning a reign of fifty-six years to the celebrated King of Kent, there can be little doubt, that by Malmesbury's time, some error had crept into the MSS. of Bede, and that, according to the venerable writer's original statements, Ethelbert really died about the year 616, after a reign of fifty-six years.

² Inett considers Ethelbert to have married "about the year 570." This is not unlikely, as he came young to the throne, and required a few years to attain that importance which rendered him an eligible match for the Frankish princess.

ingly, attended by Luidhard, a Frankish bishop, and for her accommodation, a British church, erected in honour of St. Martin, on the eastern side of Canterbury, but long desecrated, was again rendered suitable for Christian worship. Thus, when the sixth century had, perhaps, thirty years to run, a Christian congregation was formed in the principal seat of Anglo-Saxon power. Nor, as its leading member was the most illustrious female in the island, can we reasonably suppose that it long failed of making converts. Intelligence accordingly arrived at Rome, that among the English nation *an anxious desire* prevailed for admission within the Church of Christ.¹ How far any such anxiety had affected Ethelbert personally, there are no direct means of ascertaining. But Gregory the Great, from whose epistles we learn the bias of his people, intimates to Bertha, that *she ought early to have inclined him favourably*² towards her own religion. As

¹ “ Pervenit ad nos Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam, Deo miserante, *desideranter velle converti.*” (GREGORII PP. I. *Epist.* 58, l. v. *Labbe et Coss.* tom. v. col. 1244). “ Indicamus ad nos pervenisse Anglorum gentem, Deo annuente, velle fieri Christianam.”—(*Ejusd. Epist.* 59. *Ibid.*).

The former of these epistles is addressed to Theodoric, and Theodebert, kings of the Franks; the latter, to Brunichild, queen of that nation. The object of both epistles is to recommend Augustine, on his passage through Gaul, to the favourable consideration of these royal personages. Mrs. Elstob has printed English translations of these epistles in the appendix to the homily on St. Gregory's day.

² “ Et quidem *jamdudum* gloriosi filii nostri, conjugis vestri, animos prudentiæ vestræ bono, sicut revera Christianæ, debuistis inflectere, ut pro regni et animæ suæ salute fidem quam colitis sequeretur.” (GREG. PP. I. *Epist.* 59, lib. 9). A translation of this Epistle is in Mrs. Elstob's Appendix, p. 18.

this intimation occurs amidst a mass of compliment, it is, probably, a mere allusion to a fact, sufficiently known, but unfit for public mention. Of Ethelbert's politic temper, his influence beyond his patrimonial territories is an undeniable evidence. Such a man's habitual prudence would restrain him from a hasty avowal of an important change in his religious opinions. Nor, after his formal conversion, would he fail of wishing that a secret, laying him open to a charge of dissimulation, should not be needlessly divulged. Had not Ethelbert, however, long looked upon Christianity with an approving eye, it is most unlikely that, when publicly called upon to embrace it, he should so readily have obeyed the summons.¹

¹ Bede says (l. ii. c. 5, p. 120), that Ethelbert died twenty-one years after he had received the Christian faith. The venerable author's royal translator, Alfred, goes farther; adding that the Kentish *Bretwalda* died at this interval, after his *baptism*. His death, however, took place, it seems, in 616. He might, therefore, have become a Christian in 595. The Saxon Chronicle, however, assigns the arrival of Augustine to 596, and Bede (l. i. c. 23, p. 73), says that it took place in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Maurice, and that that emperor acceded in 582. Bede's chronology, therefore, coincides with that of the Saxon Chronicle, and is, most probably, its authority. Hence, it seems, we must understand, not that Ethelbert died at the distance of twenty-one years complete from his conversion, but in the twenty-first year after that event. He must, accordingly, have been baptised almost immediately after the arrival of Augustine. John of Tinmouth, accordingly (*Historia Aurea*, Pars. 3, Bibl. Lameth. MS. 12. f. 7), says, *Æthelbertus rex Cantie anno vicesimo-primo post fidei susceptionem, migravit ad Dominum*. A splendid MS. containing Lives of Saints, in the Bodleian Library (MSS. Bodley, 285, f. 116), likewise says, *Itaque post suscepte fidei sacramentū, cum per viginti et unum annos juxta examinationis lancem secundum equitatem divini juris*

From one of the more eminent of Roman bishops this happy summons flowed. Gregory, honourably distinguished among popes as the Great, sprang from an illustrious family, and inherited a papal fortune, his great-grandfather Felix having filled the opulent see of Rome. His early instruction was not altogether unworthy of hereditary affluence, and he proved an apt scholar. Gregory, notwithstanding, lived and died ignorant of Greek, then a living language, necessary for understanding the best authors, and spoken vernacularly at his sovereign's court.¹ This deficiency might seem immaterial to one intended for a mere civilian, and his education was, probably, conducted with no other view, since he was appointed, at an early age, governor of Rome, his native city. He now was tried by one of those alloys which Providence mercifully uses for chastising the insolence of prosperity, and rebuking the envy of depression. His habitual state of health was miserable. Hence he soon anxiously sought an escape from public life, and an uninterrupted course of religious meditation: the only proper occupation, as it seemed, for a mind encased in a frame like his. He founded, accordingly, six monasteries in Sicily, and one in his native city. To this he himself retired. Rome resounded with the praise of such mortification and magnanimity. Hence he was not long left in the obscurity

temporalis regni sceptrâ rite gubernaret, die vicesimo-septimo (no month mentioned), mundialibus rebus exemptus est.

¹ *Quamvis Græcæ linguæ nescius*, he says of himself to Anastasius, an Isaurian presbyter. GREG. PP. I. *Epist.* 29, lib. vi. *Labb. et Coss.* v. 1274.

of his retreat. Pelagius II. ordained him deacon in 582, and sent him as apocrisiary to the imperial court.¹

He remained at Constantinople, highly esteemed, until the death of Tiberius, in 586. It being usual that a new papal resident should wait upon a new emperor, Gregory then returned to Rome, bearing with him, in proof of satisfaction given by his mission, some of those wretched relics from which the Romish hierarchy has gathered so great a load of well-earned infamy, and the Romish laity such deep debasement. But although fully smitten by the prevailing spirit of superstition, he possessed a self-devoted spirit, worthy of the apostolic age. A raging pestilence filled Rome with mourning and consternation. Gregory braved the horrors of this avenging scourge, seeking to disarm the wrath of Heaven, and to mitigate the popular distress, by solemn religious exercises. Under his guidance, all the citizens formed themselves into seven choirs, which perambulated their half-deserted streets, mournfully chanting penitential litanies. This noble disregard of every thing but duty, led grateful Rome to name him unanimously the successor of Pelagius, who had lately perished in the plague. Such elections, however, had no more than a conditional validity. Unless the

¹ Such officers were called *Apocrisaries*, because they returned the ἀποκρίσεις *answers*, that is, of their principals, to inquiries or proposals made at the several courts to which they were delegated. Ecclesiastical apocrisaries were ordinarily received at the court of Constantinople only from the patriarchal sees. Deacons were generally chosen for this office by the Roman pontiffs. Du Cange *in voc.*

emperor confirmed them, they were void.¹ Gregory wrote to Constantinople, earnestly beseeching the denial of this confirmation. He determined also upon flight, and finding guards appointed to frustrate his intention, he was conveyed away, like St. Paul, in a basket, and sought the concealment of a wood. All these incidents naturally cast additional lustre upon his elevation. His messenger to the imperial court was intercepted, and in place of his own letter, another was transmitted, earnestly supplicating the emperor to confirm the choice of Rome. This request found a ready acquiescence; and Gregory's retreat being easily discovered, he was joyously conducted to the pontifical chair.

Of this he became a very active occupant. His equanimity, however, was not proof against lofty pretensions in a rival see. John the Faster, bishop of Constantinople, a prelate almost adored in that capital, from his extreme rigour in ascetic mortifications, assumed, under imperial sanction, the title of *Œcumenical bishop*. Inconceivably offended, Gregory styled himself *Servant of the servants of God*,² an ostentation of humility yet retained by the princely

¹ " Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset."—PLATINA in *Pelag.* ii. ed. 1529, p. 65.

² " Superstitiosum *Universalis* vocabulum, quod Johannes, Constantinopolitanus antistes Episcopus insolenter sibi tunc temporis usurpabat, more antecessorum suorum Pontificum, sub districtissimæ interminationis sententia refutavit, et *primus omnium se in principio epistolarum suarum SERVUM SERVORUM DEI scribi satis humiliter definivit.*"—*Vita S. Greg. M.* Auctore Paulo Diacono. *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* Lut. Par. 1668, i. 386.

pontiffs, though so long unruffled by Oriental arrogance. He reminded, also, the Emperor Maurice of St. Peter's high prerogatives, *and yet*, he added, *that pillar of our faith is never called Universal Apostle*. The Faster's assumption he paints, accordingly, as an insult to the priesthood, and a scandal to the Church.¹ Nor was he able to conquer a resentful feeling towards Maurice for lacerating so severely his pride of station. Hence, when that emperor fell under the murderous hand of Phocas, the usurper, infamous as he was, not only met with a ready recognition from the Romans, but also with fulsome compliments from their bishop.²

¹ Greg. PP. I. *Epist.* iv. 32, ap. *Labb. et Coss.* v. 1181. In this epistle Gregory charges his rival, the Faster, with downright hypocrisy. He says "Ossa jejuniis atteruntur, et mente turgemus. Corpus despectis vestibis tegitur, et elatione cordis purpuram superamus. Doctores humilium, duces superbix, ovina facie lupinos dentes abscondimus." It is not possible to acquit such language of gross intemperance, when applied to a person of strict morality, and of ascetic habits. Nor did Gregory here, in all probability, render justice to the Faster. That prelate was not likely to be an absolute hypocrite, and these words paint him as nothing else. That he was, however, much of a self-deceiver, there can be little question, and his case deserves the serious notice of every one who may become acquainted with it. Had John really made these acquisitions in humility which were in accordance with his outward acts of mortification, he would not have given such violent offence to Gregory. He may serve, therefore, to remind us, that even under a striking appearance of extreme humility, men are very liable to overlook a most dangerous degree of pride within.

² "Aliquando vero cum misericors Deus mœrentium corda sua decrevit collatione refavere, unum ad regiminis culmen provehit, per cujus misericordix viscera in cunctorum mentibus exultationis suæ gratiam infundit. De qua exultationis abundantia roborari nos citius credimus, qui benignitatem vestræ pietatis

As a counterpoise to the encroaching spirit of his Eastern rivals, Gregory naturally thought of extending the influence of his own authority in an opposite direction. Britain presented an inviting field. Her ancient Church, which in better days would probably have spurned any Roman attempt at interference, had been miserably curtailed by the Saxon conquest, in importance and extent. An auspicious opening was now offered, by means of Ethelbert and his Christian spouse, for raising on its ruins a new ecclesiastical establishment. Gregory was well aware of these advantages, and judiciously determined upon improving them. His determination is referred by the earliest of our church historians to an impulse from on high.¹ Nor is this view unreasonable. Providence undoubtedly often acts upon the minds of men, and orders their affairs, to further its own benevolent designs.

Political motives for Gregory's generous enterprise were not likely to be assigned, at any time, by those who deeply venerated the see of Rome. A garrulous and wonder-loving age could not refer it even to heavenly motions, without making them depend upon a striking incident. In Bede accordingly,

ad imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus. *Lætentur cæli, et exultet terra, et de vestris benignis actibus universæ reipublicæ populus nunc usque vehementer afflictus hilarescat.*" (GREG. PP. I. ad Phoc. Imp. Epist. 38, lib. xi. *Labb. et Coss.* v. 1530). "Considerare cum gaudiis et magnis actionibus gratiarum libet, quantas omnipotenti Domino laudes debemus, quod remoto jugo tristitiæ ad libertatis tempora sub imperiali benignitatis vestræ pietate pervenimus."—Id. ad eund.—*Ib.* 1533.

¹ *Bed.* i. 23, p. 73.

after Gregory's history is finished and his epitaph recorded, appears the following tale.¹ While yet a private clergyman, this famous pontiff was one day passing through the slave-market of his native city. There his eye was forcibly arrested by some light-haired, fair-complexioned youths, who stood exposed for sale. "Whence come these lads?" he asked. "From Britain:" was the answer. "Are the people Christians there?" he then inquired. "No: Pagans:" he was told. "Alas!" he said, "how grievous is it, that faces fair as these should own subjection to the swarthy devil!" His next question was: "What do you call the tribe from which these young people spring?" "Angles:" said the dealer. "Ah! that is well:" the future Pope rejoined. "Angels they are in countenance, and coheirs of angels they ought to be. Where in Britain do their kindred live?" "In Deira:"² was the reply. "Well again," Gregory said; "it is our

¹ *Bed.* ii. l. p. 108. The venerable historian says that he received the story *traditione majorum*. It is detailed also in the *Homily on the Birth-day of S. Gregory*, published in the original Saxon, accompanied by an English translation, by Mrs. Elstob, in 1709, and by Paulus Diaconus.—*Vita S. GREG. Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* i. 391.

² *Dei ira* means in Latin, *God's anger*. The Saxon district, known as *Deira* in Latin, was that portion of Northumbria which lay between the Humber and the Tees, and which was occasionally independent of Bernicia, the northern portion. The Saxons called it *Deora mægthe*, or *Deora rice*, words meaning, there can be little doubt, the *province*, or *kingdom of wild beasts (deer)*. It is likely that the form and pronunciation of this name, which a slave-dealer would probably give correctly enough, were not exactly suitable to the punning use of it placed in Gregory's mouth.

duty to deliver them from *God's ire*. Pray, who is king of the land so significantly named?" "Ella," replied the merchant. "Ah!" the pious inquirer added; "*Allelujah* must be sung in that man's country." Fired by this occurrence, Gregory resolved upon undertaking personally a mission into Anglia. Nor did the pope discourage his intention; but the Roman people would not allow their highly valued fellow-citizen to enter upon a labour so remote and perilous. Thus Gregory is exhibited as bringing to the pontificate those benevolent intentions towards Pagan Anglia, which were eventually realised under his direction. It is at least certain, that after his elevation he directed a priest named Candidus, manager of the papal patrimony in Gaul,¹ to buy some English lads of seventeen or eighteen, for education as missionaries among their countrymen.² This fact, probably, has brought Gregory himself upon the scene, to contrast his dark Italian hue with the bright complexion of a northern clime, and to point a dialogue with verbal play.

The prospect, however, of evangelising Britain by means of young people to be educated expressly

¹ "Churches in cities whose inhabitants were but of moderate substance, had no estates left to them out of their own district; but those in imperial cities, such as Rome, Ravenna, and Milan, where senators and persons of the first rank inhabited, were endowed with estates in divers parts of the world. St. Gregory mentions the patrimony of the Church of Ravenna, in Sicily, and another of the Church of Milan, in that kingdom. The Roman Church had patrimonies in France, Africk, Sicily, in the Cottian Alps, and in many other countries."—F. PAUL's *Treatise of Ecclesiastical Benefices*. Lond. 1736, p. 30.

² GREG. PP. I. Epist. v. 10. *Lab. et Coss.* v. 1217.

for the purpose, being distant and uncertain, Gregory's honourable zeal impelled him to think of a more expeditious course. He accordingly selected Augustine, prior of the monastery of St. Martin, in Rome, as leader of a devoted band, willing to attempt at once the conversion which he so anxiously desired. Augustine, having engaged several monks as partners in his toils, left the ancient capital of Europe, and made, it seems, his first considerable halt among the monastic recluses of Lerins. To these devotees the difficulties of his undertaking were necessarily better known than they could have been at Rome. At Lerins, accordingly, becoming utterly discouraged, he determined upon applying for Gregory's leave to withdraw from an enterprise apparently so hazardous and hopeless. But the pontiff would hear nothing of this despondence. He rebuked the missionary's pusillanimity, refused to cancel his obligations, and commanded him to lose no time in reaching Britain, fully relying upon God's protection and support. Augustine now rallied his spirits, proceeded northwards, and providing himself with interpreters in Gaul,¹ set sail for the chalky cliffs of Kent. He

¹ Malmesburiensis nostri illam de communi utriusque gentis sermone observationem libet adjicere: *naturalis lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis; eo quod de Germania gentes ambæ germinaverunt: illa nimirum lingua, quam Franci transrhenani terunt; et qua Carolum magnum Francorum regem usum fuisse, ex Vita ipsius paulo ante confirmaverat.*—Quo minus mirum videri nobis debeat, quod a Beda proditum invenimus, Augustinum et socios, conversionis Anglorum opus aggressos, *accepisse, præcipiente Papa Gregorio, de gente Francorum interpretes.*—USSER. *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* 222.

landed in the isle of Thanet, and thence despatched a messenger to Ethelbert, informing him of his arrival, and declaring that he had journeyed thus far from home in hope of shewing him the way to heaven.¹

By the Kentish prince, however well the message might have pleased him, it was cautiously received. He gave no permission to his Roman guests for a farther advance into the country, until he had gone himself to make observations. Augustine's arrangements for this royal visit did honour to his knowledge of human nature. Forming a procession of his monks, one of whom bore a silver cross, another a picture of the Saviour, while the remainder chanted litanies, he came forward into the *Bretwalda's* presence. Ethelbert might really have felt some fears of magic. At all events, there were those around him who would hardly fail of expressing such apprehensions, and an appearance of over-haste in approving the Roman mission seemed, probably, very far from politic. Augustine's first reception, accordingly, was in the open air; magic arts being thus considered less likely to take effect. The prior explained his object as no other than an anxious wish for guiding the king, and all around him, to those everlasting joys above, which it was the privilege of his ministry to promise, on conversion. "Fair words and promises are these," Ethelbert replied; "but being also new and uncertain, I cannot relinquish for them principles long and universally professed among my countrymen. Your

¹ Augustine appears to have received his commission from Gregory in 596, and to have landed in Kent in 597. — WHARTON *de Vera Success. Archiep. Cantuar. Angl. Sacr.* i. p. 89.

distant pilgrimage, however, and your charitable purpose of communicating to us what seems of surpassing excellence to yourselves, justly claim our hospitality. I shall, therefore, provide you with a residence, and the means of living. Nor do I restrain you from endeavours to spread your opinions among my people.” The residence provided was at Canterbury, and the missionaries entered that city to take possession of it, with all those imposing solemnities of the cross, the picture, and the chanted litany, which had dignified their introduction to the *Bretwalda*. Of their speedy success there are abundant assurances. Ethelbert, probably long a concealed Christian, seems to have openly professed himself a convert soon after their arrival. Nor, obviously, could such an example fail of operating extensively upon the people.

When sufficiently established, and attended by a considerable congregation in the ancient church of St. Martin, Augustine felt his time to be come for venturing upon a more extensive field. His instructions, however, and those principles of ecclesiastical polity which had ever guided Christians, forbade him to make dispositions for the general diffusion of his holy faith until he had formally assumed the episcopal character. He seems, accordingly, to have crossed over into Gaul, and to have advised with Etherius, archbishop of Arles,¹ upon a public appearance as metropolitan of the English nation. On his return

¹ “ Neque Londinensis, neque Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, sed universali nomine *Anglorum Episcopus* creabatur, ut liberum sibi sit, in quacunque vellet regni regione sedem suam collocare.” (PARKER. *Antiqu. Britan.* Lond. 1729. p. 18.) “ Consecratus

into Kent, he sent to Rome, Laurence a priest, and Peter a monk, with news of his success. Among their intelligence, these messengers were, it seems, to give accounts of miracles wrought by him, as Augustine alleged, in confirmation and furtherance of his mission. There are no days, however loud in claims to illumination, not even when such claims are far from unfounded, incapable of affording multitudes eager to believe any thing supernatural. Nor are persons ever wanting equally eager to claim the power of indulging credulous people with food suitable to their appetite for wonders. At the close of the sixth century, when the leaden age had long pretty thoroughly set in, even in the chief seats of intellectual cultivation, an ignorant, a more than semi-barbarous country, like Jutish Kent, must necessarily have pre-

erat ab Eucherio, archiepiscopo Arelat. A. 602, et sedit annos 16, ait liber *Taxar. Ep. Wint. MS.* Wren. et *MS. Trin.* Ab Ætherio, A. 597. *Beda* Lib. 1. cap. 27. 16 Kal. Dec. 597. *Chron. W. Thorn.* p. 1760. Cui in hoc maxima fides est adhibenda." (*Godwin de Præsul.* Cant. 1743, p. 37, note.) Wharton (*de Vera Success. Archiep. Cantuar. Angl. Sacr.* p. 89) has inferred from two epistles of Pope Gregory, that Augustine was consecrated to the episcopate before he originally passed over into Kent. The first of these epistles (*Labb. et Coss.* v. 1289) acknowledges the kindness shewn by Brunichild, queen of the Franks, "erga fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum." The second of these epistles (*Ib.* col. 1307) thus speaks of Augustine, to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria: "Qui, data a me licentia, a Germaniarum episcopis episcopus factus, cum eorum quoque solatiis, ad prædictam gentem (*Anglorum*, sc.) in finem mundi perductus est." Guided by these authorities, Wharton reasonably concludes that W. Thorn was rightly informed when he placed Augustine's consecration in 597, the very year of his arrival in Kent. If, therefore, he went subsequently over to Etherius, it must have been to advise with him, not to receive consecration from him, as Bede relates.

sented a most inviting field to any one possessed of the public eye, and disposed to gratify it by an assumption of miraculous endowments. Augustine appears to have been sufficiently forward in thus gratifying his adopted countrymen. He might, indeed, occasionally have really suspected some degree of truth in his pretensions. For among parties desirous of his wonder-working intervention, some must have laboured under nervous ailments. In such cases, a strong excitement and firm conviction would naturally render any juggling process productive of temporary benefit. In cases positively hopeless, he lulled his conscience, probably, under a little *pious fraud* (as language poisonously runs), by the false and execrable maxim, that "the end justifies the means." Gregory's disposition for scrutiny was equally dormant. He seems to have heard of Augustine's miracles with all that implicit credulity which in his day was generally prevalent. His, indeed, apparently, was a mind enamoured of the marvellous. At all events, his politic habits readily made him patronise a wonderful tale, whenever it seemed likely to raise the dignity of his see, or advance a favourite notion. He merely, therefore, contented himself, in noticing the supernatural attestations claimed for Augustine's mission, with gravely admonishing him against the danger of being puffed up under a consciousness of such extraordinary privileges.¹ Gregory provided, besides, the seeds of future debasement to the church so happily founded, by consigning to her new prelate various

¹ GREG. PP. I. Epist. ix. 58. *Labb. et Coss.* v. 1470.

relics, the false, frivolous, and disgusting incentives to a grovelling superstition. He likewise transmitted vestments proper for celebrating the divine offices; and with still more commendable care for the rising community of Christians, he added several valuable books. Gregory the Great can, therefore, not only claim the honour of having embraced a favourable opportunity for delivering England from Paganism, but also of having laid the foundations of her literature, by presenting her with the first contributions towards the formation of a library.¹

Augustine likewise received answers to certain questions proposed by him to the pontiff. In the first of these, he requested an opinion as to episcopal dealings with inferior clergymen, especially with reference to oblations laid by faithful Christians on the altar.

¹ The following appear to have been the books sent by Gregory. 1. A Bible, in two volumes. 2. A Psalter. 3. A book of the Gospels. 4. Another Psalter. 5. Another book of the Gospels. 6. Apocryphal Lives of the Apostles. 7. Lives of Martyrs. 8. Expositions of certain Epistles and Gospels. The Canterbury Book in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which supplies this interesting information, closes the brief catalogue with these expressive words:—*HÆ SUNT PRIMITIÆ LIBRORUM TOTIUS ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ.*

Wanley considered the Gregorian Bible to have been extant in the reign of James I.; being led to think so, from an apologetic petition of the Romanists to that prince. He considered neither of the Psalters to be extant, but thought a very ancient Psalter among the Cottonian MSS. to be copied from one of them. Both books of the Gospels, though imperfect, he considered to be extant, one in the Bodleian library, the other in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The other books he considered to be lost. Their substance, however, probably remains in the Saxon homilies. See *ELSTON'S Homily on the Birth-day of S. Gregory*, p. 39.

As a general guide, Gregory recommends a habit of consulting Scripture; and, in pecuniary matters, a compliance with Roman usage. This assigned one-fourth of clerical resources to the bishop, for the maintenance of his family and the exercise of hospitality; an equal share to the clergy; a third such to the poor; and the remaining portion to maintain the fabric of the church.¹ Augustine, however, was ad-

¹ From this recommendation, given by an Italian prelate at the outset of a mission which had just obtained a favourable reception among the Kentish Jutes, various interested parties are anxious to infer that church-rates and poor-rates legally fall upon tithe-property alone. Such reasoners cannot be expected to inquire whether Gregory's recommendation has ever been adopted by any national council or parliament; or even whether the tithe-property is equal to the demands which their inference would make it answer.

Upon the usages of Rome, Father Paul supplies the following information. "It was, therefore, ordered in the Western Church, about the year 470, that a division should be made into four parts: the first was to go to the bishop; the second to the rest of the clergy; the third to the fabric of the church, *in which, beside that properly so called, was also comprehended the habitation of the bishop, of the other clergy, of the sick, and of the widows*; and the fourth part went to the poor."—*Treatise of Ecclesiastical Benefices*, p. 18.

Now, even supposing Gregory's recommendation to have been subsequently embodied in the canon, or statute law of England (which it never was), and that it was originally intended for a body of parochial clergy, scattered on separate benefices all over the country (which it certainly was not), yet English incumbents would have no reason to shrink from it. Assessments for the poor, actually or virtually made upon their tithes, houses, and glebes, together with their own private charities, rarely absorb less than a fourth of their tythes; often more. The repairing and rebuilding of chancels and glebe-houses, dilapidations paid on vacancies, and other like charges, will generally be found, in the course of an

monished upon the propriety of expending his own fourth as much as possible in common with his clergy, keeping steadily to those monastic obligations which he had contracted whilst at home. But any of the inferior ministers, whom inability for continence had induced to marry, were to be indulged in consuming their portions at residences of their own.

Augustine, secondly, remarking upon varying religious usages prevailing in different churches, demands which of them appeared most eligible for his individual adoption? Gregory leaves these matters to his own discretion, expressing a conviction that he would naturalise in England such usages, whether Roman, Gallic, or any other, as might seem best adapted to the feelings and edification of his converts.

The third question, relating to robberies in churches, is answered by directions for punishing such offences by fines, or by personal chastisement, as the cases should severally require. To the fourth question, whether two brothers might marry two sisters? an affirmative reply is returned. The fifth, relating to marriages between different degrees of kindred, is met by various directions suited to particular cases. The sixth, as to episcopal consecration by a single prelate, whom distance might prevent from obtaining others of his order to assist him, elicits a sanction for such a consecration, under Augustine's peculiar circumstances. The seventh, as to the nature of his

incumbency, to have absorbed little or nothing less than another fourth of the tithes received. As to episcopal claims upon parochial tithes, they were voluntarily relinquished, for the purpose of planting the country with a body of rural clergy.

intercourse with the bishops of Gaul and Britain, induces Gregory to say, that, in case of his correpondent's passage over sea, he ought not to take any thing upon himself among the native prelacy, but that in Britain all of his order were committed to him : the ignorant for instruction, the weak for persuasive confirmation, the perverse for authority. The remaining questions relate to the baptism of women during pregnancy, their admission into the church after child-birth, and to certain scruples arising from the sexual functions.¹

Augustine received about the same time, from Gregory, the insidious compliment of a pall.² He was charged also to establish twelve suffragan bishops, and to select an archbishop for the see of York. Over this prelate, who was likewise to have under his jurisdiction twelve suffragan sees, he had a personal grant of precedence. After his death, the two archbishops were to rank according to priority of consecration.³ Augustine's views were now directed to the consolidation and extension of his authority. Hence he repaired to the confines of Wales, and sought an interview with the native prelacy of Britain. The place rendered memorable by this meeting seems to have been under the shade of some noble tree, afterwards known as *Augustine's Oak*,⁴ situated, probably,

¹ BED. i. 27, p. 96.

² For various particulars respecting the *Pall*, extracted from a work of high antiquity, and from De Marca, see the Author's *Bampton Lectures for 1830*, p. 178.

³ BED. i. 29, p. 99.

⁴ "The matter is not so clear but that the place called *Au-*

within the modern county of Worcester. The influence of Ethelbert was used in bringing the parties together, and Augustine declared his principal object to be no other than to secure British co-operation in the great work of converting the Saxons. But then he qualified his application for native aid by insisting upon a complete uniformity in religious usages. The Britons adhered to a very ancient mode in fixing the festival of Easter,¹ and varied in many other particulars from Roman practice. In doctrine, the two churches appear to have been identical. This would not, however, content Augustine. The native Christians were equally intractable; clinging with fond affection to those peculiarities of their national church which bespoke its high antiquity, and which seem, in fact, to connect it immediately with Asia, the cradle of our holy faith. Finding ordinary argument evidently hopeless, Augustine proposed a recourse to miracle. The pretensions, he said, favoured by this attestation, were, undeniably, those that ought to prevail. This was admitted, but with difficulty; suspicion probably arising, that in seeking assent to an abstract proposition, nothing else was intended than to cover some stratagem suited for misleading the multitude. At all events, no time was lost in using the admission. A man was introduced, by birth an Angle, exhibiting marks of blindness. The Britons were invited to pray for his release from that calamity. No considerable assemblage can want the vain and indis-

gustine's Oak may as well be a *town* as a *tree*, so called from some eminent *oak* in, at, or near it."—FULLER's *Church Hist.* 60.

¹ See the Author's *History of the Reformation*, i. 437.

creet. British ecclesiastics, accordingly, accepted the treacherous invitation. Of course, their prayers proved ineffectual. Augustine then stepped forward, bent his knees, and offered an earnest supplication. This ended, the man was found in full possession of his visual faculties. As usual among people uncivilised, or nearly so, the whole arrangements and execution appear to have been admirable. Hence Augustine's principles were approved by acclamation. The leading Britons, however, professing incompetence to receive them without the general consent of their countrymen,¹ requested a second conference, in which they might appear more numerous supported.

To this repaired seven bishops, and various native divines of distinguished learning. In their way, they consulted a hermit, highly esteemed for prudence and holiness. "If Augustine," said the recluse, "be a man of God, take his advice." They then urged the difficulty of ascertaining whether he might be such a man or no. "This is not so difficult," they were told. "Our Lord enjoined, *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.*² Now, manage to be at the place of meeting after the foreigner, and if he shall rise at your approach, then you may think him to have learnt of Christ. If he should receive you sitting, and shew any haughtiness, then maintain your ancient usages." As the ears of Augustine yet tingled with applause extorted by admiration of a miracle, no test could be more unfortunate. When he saw the Britons, accordingly, though

¹ BED. ii. 2, p. 111. ² St. Matt. xi. 29.

so numerous and respectable, he did not deign to lift himself from his chair. "I ask only three things of you," he said; "one, that you should keep Easter as we do; another, that you should baptise according to the Roman ritual; a third, that you should join us in preaching to the Angles. With your other peculiarities we shall patiently bear." But the Britons were disgusted alike by his discourtesy and by his pretensions to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over them.¹ They replied, therefore, "We shall agree to no one of your propositions. Much less can we admit as our archbishop him who will not even rise to salute us." Augustine now seeing himself completely foiled, became enraged, and hastily said: "If you will not have peace with brethren, you shall have war with enemies. If you will not shew your neighbours the way of life, their swords shall avenge the wrong in putting you to death." In these words has been sometimes discerned rather a deliberate threat than a random prophecy. After no long interval, about twelve hundred British monks, from the great monastery of

¹ It is not clear from Bede whether Augustine's claims to archiepiscopal jurisdiction were brought forward at the first, or at the second conference, or even whether they were formally brought forward at either. The venerable historian says nothing of them among the conditions proposed, but he mentions the refusal of them in the final answer given after the second conference. *At illi nihil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant* (ii. 2, p. 112). The British clergy could hardly be ignorant of Augustine's pretensions, and they must have known, therefore, without any formal communication, that if they agreed to his propositions, they would be next required to acquiesce under his superiority.

Bangor, in modern Flintshire,¹ were savagely slaughtered on the field of battle, by Ethelfrid, an Anglian chief. "Who are all these unarmed men?" the warrior asked. "Monks," was the reply, "brought hither, after a three days' fast, to pray for success upon their country's arms." Ethelfrid rejoined, "These are active enemies, then, no less than the others; for they come to fight against us with their prayers. Put them to the sword." Of this cruelty, sometimes attributed to his intrigues, Augustine was probably altogether guiltless.² But his unbecoming pride, and unwarrantable claims to jurisdiction, naturally engendered a violent antipathy in the British Christians, who refused communion with the Roman party no less than with the Pagan Saxons.³

Augustine was called away soon after the failure of his ambitious hopes. Death did not, however, surprise him before he had been duly careful to provide for the continuance of that Church which his useful and honourable labours had founded. Rricula, sister to his friend and patron Ethelbert, was married to

¹ "This Banchor was distant but ten or twelve miles from Chester, as Ranulphus Cestrensis, and Bradshaw, in his *Life of St. Werburg*, say. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, describes the place as *standing in a valley, and having the compass of a walled town, and two gates remaining half a mile distant from each other.*"—STILLINGFLEET'S *Antiquities of the British Churches*, 205.

² Bede appears to have said of him (p. 114), after relating the slaughter of the Bangor monks, *quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia regna sublato*. But there is nothing answerable to these words in King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation. Hence they have been considered as an interpolation.

³ HUNTINGDON. *Script. post Bedam*, 189.

Sebert, king of the East Saxons. This petty prince he found the means of converting, and of persuading to receive a bishop. The prelate consecrated for this mission was Mellitus, one of the company sent by Gregory to his aid, after he had become tolerably established. The see to which Mellitus went was London, then the capital of Sebert. Ethelbert ordered a church to be built there in honour of St. Paul, and thus provided a site for two noble cathedrals; one, spacious above all contemporary fanes, and magnificent above most; the other, second only to St. Peter's as a monument of Grecian architecture, and, besides, the glory of Protestant Christianity. Justus, another of the second missionary band sent over by Gregory, was consecrated by Augustine to a see founded at Rochester,¹ within the territory under Ethelbert's immediate authority. He consecrated also Laurentius as his own successor.² But here his arrangements terminated; a plain proof that he was nothing more than the pioneer in evangelising the Anglo-Saxons. Augustine, however, justly claims the veneration of Englishmen. An opening through which their ancestors received the greatest of imaginable services, was rendered available by his address and self-devotion. A grateful posterity may well excuse in such a man something of human vanity and indiscretion.

After Augustine's death, Laurentius imitated his

¹ In 604. WHARTON de Vera Successione Archiep. Cantuar. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 90. Wharton thinks Augustine to have died in the same year. His death has, however, been referred to various years down to 616.

² BED. ii. 3, p. 116.

example in seeking to undermine native partiality for ancient usages. He wrote letters, in conjunction with Mellitus and Justus, to the principal Scottish ecclesiastics, complimenting them at the expense of their brethren in other British regions,¹ and exhorting them to a conformity with Rome. A similar letter was addressed to the inferior clergy of South Britain; their superiors, probably, being considered proof against any such attempt. A complete failure, however, again waited upon Roman ambition; Gregory's mission seemed, indeed, now on the very eve of a final miscarriage. Ethelbert, having lost Bertha, married, in his declining age, a second wife. After his death, his son and successor Eadbald insisted upon espousing this female, aggravating that indecency by an open relapse into Paganism. His kinsmen, also the sons of Sebert, now deceased, had looked with longing eye upon the whiteness of some bread used in administering the holy communion, and desired a taste of it. "You must first be baptised," was the answer. "The bread of life is reserved for such as have sought the laver of life." This refusal was requited by the expulsion of Mellitus, who retired into Kent. He there found both Justus and Laurentius agreed with him in regarding the Roman cause as hopeless. All three, accordingly, determined upon withdrawing from the isle. This resolve was quickly executed by Justus and Mellitus.² Laurentius was to follow them without unnecessary delay. When,

¹ "Sed cognoscentes Britones, Scotos meliores putavimus."—*Ib.* ii. 4, p. 118.

² *Ib.* ii. 5, p. 122.

however, his preparations for departure were completed, he desired a couch to be spread in the church, that he might spend his last night upon a spot endeared to him by so many grateful labours. No doubt Eadbald's spirits rose as the sun declined, under an agreeable conviction that reproof and importunity from Laurentius were likely to trouble him no more. How unwelcome then to his eyes must have been the archbishop's agitated countenance early in the morning! "I come," said the prelate, uncovering his shoulders, "to shew you what I have undergone during the night. St. Peter stood at my side while I slept, reproached me sharply for presuming to flee from my charge, and scourged me most severely; as these marks will testify!" Eadbald heard the missionary's tale, and gazed upon his livid shoulders with deep uneasiness. He might even dread a renewal of former arguments enforced by some nocturnal flagellation. He consented, accordingly, to dismiss his father's widow, to receive baptism, and to recall Mellitus and Justus from the continent.¹ The latter he fixed again at Rochester, but he was unable to re-establish the former in London.

A sister of his named Ethelburga, or Tate, was asked in marriage by Edwin, a powerful prince who ruled Northumbria. Eadbald, however, would only hear of the suit under condition that his sister, like her mother, Bertha, should be protected in the free exercise of her religion. Edwin not only stipulated

¹ BED. ii. 6. p. 124.

this, but also professed a willingness to embrace Christianity himself, if he should find its pretensions able to stand the test of a sufficient inquiry. Paulinus, accordingly, one of the second missionary band sent over by Gregory,¹ having been consecrated to the episcopate by Justus, now archbishop of Canterbury,² accompanied Ethelburga into the north. His patience was there sorely tried by the strength of Edwin's pagan prejudices. But his Italian address being keenly on the watch for favourable incidents, proved eventually an over-match for the semi-barbarian's obstinacy. Quichelm, king of the West Saxons, desiring to seize his country, sent a colourable message to Edwin by one provided with a poisoned weapon. The assassin speciously explained his pretended business until every eye around was fixed upon his countenance: then he rushed furiously upon his intended victim. Edwin would, undoubtedly, have perished, had not Lilla, a faithful thane, suddenly sprung forward and received himself the deadly blow. On the same evening, being that of Easter-day, Edwin's queen was delivered of a daughter, afterwards named Eanfleda, and his own acknowledgments were warmly offered to the imaginary gods of Scandinavia, both for the happy termination of Ethelburga's painful anxiety and his own wonder-

¹ BED. i. 29. p. 98.

² Laurentius appears to have died in 619, and he was succeeded by Mellitus, who never regained his original see of London. On the death of Mellitus in 624, Justus was translated from Rochester to supply his place. —WHARTON *de Verâ Success. Angl. Sacr.* i. 91, 92.

ful escape. "I must give hearty thanks to Christ, my Lord," said Paulinus, "for the queen's easy and safe delivery. Nor can I forbear from thinking that this mercy is partly owing to my earnest prayers in her behalf." Edwin then asked, "And will you pray for my success in an expedition that I shall undertake against the cowardly traitor, Quichelm?" The answer was: "Yes: but I fear that Jesus will not hear me unless you resolve upon becoming his disciple." Edwin pledged himself to this qualification at an early opportunity, and as an earnest of that engagement he desired Paulinus to baptise his infant daughter, with twelve of his household. He then marched against Quichelm, and succeeded in killing or capturing all who had been any way concerned in the late attempt upon his life. When returned, however, victorious to his home, the force of early prepossessions rallied, and he declared himself unable to renounce heathenism until his more eminent subjects had approved.¹

Paulinus was acquainted with a scene that often powerfully struck the mental eye of Edwin. It seems to have been a secret; for Bede supposes the bishop to have learned it by revelation from above. His real informant most likely was the queen. Edwin having succeeded to the Northumbrian throne when hardly out of his cradle, was quickly set aside, and then stealthily conveyed away. Ethelfrid, who had usurped his crown, sent emissaries after him into every corner of the island where he took temporary

¹ BED. ii. 9. p. 132.

shelter. At length he found protection at the court of Redwald, king of East Anglia. This prince, being assiduously plied by Ethelfrid with promises and menaces, began to waver. A friend of Edwin was informed of this, and advised instant flight. The royal youth had just retired to rest, but he hastily left his chamber and withdrew beyond the dwelling, distracted by anxious apprehension. He had already wandered over most of England in quest of safety, and he was now utterly at a loss to see any farther hope. As night wore away he probably sank into an agitated slumber. A majestic personage now roused attention, whose countenance and dress were wholly new. Edwin strained his eyes in agony. "Wherefore," said his unknown visitor, "sit you mourning here while other mortals quietly repose?" He was answered, "It can be no concern of yours whether I spend the night abroad or on my couch." The figure said: "Do not think me unaware of your distress. I know it all. What will you give me, then, to set your heart at ease and make Redwald spurn every overture of your enemy?" Edwin eagerly promised any thing that ever might be in his power. "Again: what would you give," the stranger added, "if I should enable you, not only to trample on your foes, but also to outstrip the power of every neighbouring king?" Edwin pledged himself, if possible, more largely than before. He was then asked: "Should he who cheers you thus with unexpected hopes be found quite equal to crown them with success, would you take hereafter his advice if he should recommend a course of life different from any ever

followed in your family, yet far more excellent?" This also met with a hearty affirmative reply. "When this signal shall be repeated, *remember, then, your pledge.*" As these words were spoken the figure pressed his right hand solemnly on Edwin's head, and immediately disappeared. After a short interval the young Northumbrian saw that kind friend approach whose warning had aroused him from his bed. Now he was, however, told that Redwald, influenced by the queen, had not only given up every thought of betraying him to Ethelfrid, but was even ready to furnish him with troops for driving that usurper from his throne.¹ He did aid him thus, and Edwin regained his patrimonial sovereignty.

After his triumphant return from taking vengeance upon Quichelm, Paulinus desired an interview. In this he slowly raised his right hand and pressed it earnestly upon the royal head. Edwin started and trembled violently. "You know this signal?" the Italian said; "you know it to have been originally given by one whose words have most exactly been fulfilled. *Remember, then, your pledge.*" Edwin fell at the missionary's feet and earnestly inquired his meaning. "By God's mercy," Paulinus added, "when even hope had fled your life was saved. By the same mercy you have wonderfully prevailed over all your enemies and regained your paternal throne.

¹ "A. D. 617. This year was Ethelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, slain by Redwald, king of the East Angles; and Edwin, the son of Ella, having succeeded to the kingdom, subdued all Britain, except the men of Kent alone."—*Saxon Chronic*. DR. INGRAM'S *Transl.* p. 32.

A third, and a greater instance of his mercy, yet awaits acceptance. *Redeem your pledge:* and the God, who has led you through so many dangers to gain and to secure an earthly throne, will remain your friend until you reach the glories of his own eternal kingdom." Before such an appeal Edwin was powerless. He professed himself anxious to redeem his pledge, as Paulinus claimed; and he desired only to delay baptism until he could receive it in company with his leading men.¹

These duly met in a solemn assembly, and Paulinus having pleaded in favour of Christianity, Coifi, a Druidic pontiff apparently,² thus addressed the royal president:—"It seems to me, O king, that our paternal gods are worthless, for no one has worshipped them more devoutly than myself; yet my lot has been far less prosperous than that of many others not half so pious." A chief then said: "The life of man, O king, reminds me of a winter feast around your blazing fire, while the storm howls or the snow drives abroad. A distressed sparrow darts within the doorway: for a moment it enjoys the cheering warmth and shelter from the blast; then, shooting through the other entrance, it is lost again.

¹ BED. ii. 12. p. 141.

² "Coifi, the pontiff, by whose persuasions Edwin embraced Christianity, is no other than the title of the chief of the Druids."—(PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*. Lond. 1832, i. 155.) An etymological reason, rendering this opinion highly probable, is subjoined in a note; and it is fairly inferred, that the ancient Druidical superstition having escaped extinction while Britain was generally Christian, had found protection, together with, at least, a partial adoption, among the pagan Saxons.

Such is man. He comes we know not whence, hastily snatches a scanty share of worldly pleasure, and then goes we know not whither. If this new doctrine, therefore, will give us any clearer insight into things that so much concern us, my feeling is to follow it." Before such arguments, resembling so strikingly those of Indian warriors in America, Northumbrian paganism fell. Coifi was foremost in making war upon the superstition which had so severely baulked his worldly hopes. His priestly character obliged him to ride upon a mare, and forbade him to bear a weapon. The people, therefore, thought him mad when he appeared upon Edwin's charger with lance in hand. He rode, however, to a famous temple, pierced the idol through, and ordered the building to be burnt.¹ Soon afterwards Paulinus kept a most impressive Easter by holding a public baptism at York, in which Edwin, his principal men, and a great multitude of inferior people, were solemnly admitted into the Christian church.²

Paulinus was now established in York as his episcopal see; and this being known at Rome procured for him the customary compliment of a pall.³ His mission, however, eventually failed. His patron, Edwin, being attacked by Cadwalla, a British prince, and Penda, king of the Mercians, fell in battle.⁴ Frightful destruction followed, and Northumbria

¹ BED. ii. 13. p. 143.

² *Ib.* ii. 14. p. 145.

³ *Ib.* ii. 17. p. 150. York, it may be remembered, was intended for an archiepiscopal see.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 20. p. 157.

completely relapsed into paganism. Paulinus, with Queen Ethelburga, sought safety on ship-board, and sailed into Kent.¹ The see of Rochester becoming vacant shortly afterwards, Paulinus was chosen to fill it, and he remained bishop there until his death.²

Edwin's faithful friend, Redwald, had made a temporary profession of Christianity, moved by arguments and persuasions which assailed him during a visit into Kent. On returning, however, into East Anglia, his wife, and others whom he valued, easily prevailed upon him to relapse into idolatry; but his brief adherence to the truth was far from fruitless: it naturally undermined the prejudices of others. Carpwald, accordingly, his son and successor, embraced the Gospel on Edwin's recommendation. Shortly afterwards this prince was assassinated, and his brother, Sigebert, was driven an exile into Gaul. There he was baptised; and having regained the East Anglian throne, he received Felix, a Burgundian bishop, for whom he founded an episcopal see at Dunwich, in Suffolk.³

Edwin's conversion proved similarly advantageous for his own dominions. It paved the way for a ready and permanent reception of our holy religion, though not by Roman instrumentality. When Edwin prevailed over his rival Ethelfrid, the sons of that prince took refuge in Scotland, where they became Chris-

¹ In 633. GODWIN *de Præsul.* 651, note.

² BED. ii. 20, p. 159. Paulinus died in 644. GODWIN *de Præsul.* 651.

³ *Ib.* ii. 15, p. 148. This see of Dunwich was founded in 630. GODWIN *de Præsul.* 423.

tians. Oswald, one of them, having established himself in great power on the Northumbrian throne, soon determined upon Christianising his people. Happily his exile had shewn him how to accomplish this without Roman intervention; probably odious to him from its connexion with Edwin. He sent accordingly for missionaries to his friends in Scotland; and Aidan, a bishop of uncommon merit, answered the summons. In finding a see for this exemplary prelate, no regard was paid to papal arrangements. Aidan fixed himself at Lindisfarne, or Holy Island,¹ as did also his successors, Finan and Colman, like him, Scots, unconnected with Rome, repudiating her usages and despising her assumptions. It was under these prelates of British origin,—it was under a religious system of native growth, that the north of England was evangelised.

More completely still was the whole centre of South Britain indebted for this inestimable benefit to the native clergy. There no Roman preacher first took possession of a field which labourers, more happily circumstanced, afterwards cultivated with lasting success. Peada, king of the Mercians, offering marriage to a Northumbrian princess, was accepted on condition of embracing Christianity. He received, as the bishop of his people, Diuma, a Scot by birth, who was consecrated by Finan, the prelate of Northumbria.² Diuma's three immediate successors were also

¹ BED. iii. 3. p. 167. Aidan was consecrated to the see of Lindisfarne in 635. GODWIN *de Præsul.* 718, note.

² *Ib.* iii. 21. p. 219. Diuma appears to have been consecrated bishop of Mercia in 656. Diuma's three immediate suc-

members of the national church; and under these four prelates all our midland counties were converted.

Equal zeal was displayed by the national church, and with equal success, in the kingdom of Essex. That region had been sunk in unheeded heathenism since the failure of Mellitus. One of its princes, however, named Sigebert, had become a frequent guest at the Northumbrian court, and he was there converted. At his desire Chad, a member of the national church, repaired into Essex. He received, eventually, episcopal consecration from Finan, prelate of Northumbria; and it was chiefly by his exertions that the modern diocese of London was reclaimed from Gentile superstition.¹

Nor was East Anglian Christianity without extensive obligations to the ancient church of Britain. The prelates of East Anglia seem indeed constantly to have been in communion with Rome; but the people's conversion was greatly owing to the labours of Fursey, an Irish monk.² Only two counties, therefore, north of the Thames—those of Norfolk and Suffolk—were evenⁿ under Roman superintendence during their transition from paganism to Christianity, and these two were largely indebted to domestic zeal

umhere cessors were named respectively Cellach, ^TFrithumhere, and Jaruman. WHARTON in Thom. Chesterfield. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 424.

¹ BED. iii. 22. p. 221. Chad appears to have been consecrated by Finan in 654.—GODWIN *de Præsul.* 172.

² *Ib.* iii. 19. p. 209. This missionary appears to have possessed a dreamy temperament and a poetical imagination. Hence he purchased for himself a memorable name among believers in purgatory.—See *Bampton Lectures*, p. 353.

for their conversion. Every other county, from London to Edinburgh,¹ has the full gratification of pointing to the ancient church of Britain as its nursing mother in Christ's holy faith.

In this patriotic gratification the southern counties cannot so largely share. The West Saxons were chiefly converted by means of Birinus, a Roman monk,² whom Pope Honorius sent over into England.³ His labours, however, owed probably a large portion of their success to Oswald, king of Northumbria, who had arrived at the West Saxon court as suitor to the king's daughter. At such a time it was found an easy matter to convert both the young princess and her father, Kynegils. To the latter Oswald stood sponsor; nor did he leave the south until he had accomplished arrangements for providing Birinus with an episcopal see at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire.⁴ Thus the West Saxon church was importantly indebted for its establishment to a powerful professor of the ancient national religion. Its second bishop also was Agilbert, a Frenchman, who had long studied in Ireland,⁵ and who had undertaken the duties of a missionary among the West Saxons at the desire of Oswy, king of Northumberland.⁶ The principles and habits of this prelate must have been, therefore,

¹ The southern counties of Scotland were included in the ancient kingdom of Northumbria.—INETT, i. 60.

² RUDBORNE. *Hist. Maj. Winton. Angl. Sacr.* i. 190.

³ The arrival of Birinus is referred to 634; the baptism of Kynegils, to the following year.—*Ib.* note.

⁴ BED. iii. 7. p. 176.

⁵ *Ib.* 177.

⁶ RUDBORNE. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 192.

sufficiently conformable to those of the ancient national church. His successor was Wine, an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and a monk of Winchester. In usages he probably followed Rome; but he does not appear to have conceded her any jurisdiction, for he sought consecration in Gaul, not from the archbishop of Canterbury.¹

The Gospel, having thus won its way over other parts of England, at length obtained an establishment in Sussex. The people were prepared for its admission by a small community of native monks settled within their territory. These recluses, however, made no great impression upon the surrounding country; but Ædilwalch, king of Sussex, returned from the Mercian court a Christian. He had been baptised there at the recommendation of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who stood sponsor to him,² and who was a member of Britain's national church. Ædilwalch's people were indeed chiefly converted by means of the famous Wilfrid, then a wanderer, and always a zealous partisan of Rome.³ In Sussex, therefore, the cases of Essex and Northumbria were reversed. In these latter countries a Roman introduction prepared the way for British success: among

¹ BED. iii. 7. p. 177.

² Wulfhere gave to Ædilwalch a substantial proof of his sponsorial affection in the Isle of Wight, which he conquered and made over to him.—*Sax. Chr.* 47.

³ *Ib.* iv. 13, p. 293. Wilfrid obtained from Ædilwalch the peninsula of Selsey, where he fixed an episcopal see about the year 680 (LE NEVE, 55). After his return to the north, the South Saxon diocese was governed for a time by the neighbouring bishops of Winchester.

the South Saxons Britain made an opening through which Rome prevailed.

Her complete and final prevalence over the national church flowed from female influence and the dexterity of her agents. Eanfleda, who had been driven from her native Northumbria in infancy with Paulinus, returned thither, after an education among her maternal relatives in Kent, as the wife of Oswy, then king of the country, and *Bretwalda*.¹ Inheriting all the religious constancy of her mother, Ethelburga, and of her grandmother, Bertha, she would not abandon Kentish usages for those of Northumbria. Her son also was intrusted to the tuition of Wilfrid, an able Englishman of the Roman party, whose attainments had been matured in southern Europe. Oswy, however, continued firm to the religious profession of his youth. Easter was accordingly celebrated at his court on different days; one party enjoying its festivities, while another placed in strong contrast with them the austerities of Lent. At length Oswy consented to purchase domestic peace by hearing a solemn argument in the monastery which he had recently founded at Whitby;² Colman, then bishop of Northumbria, assisted by Chad, bishop

¹ *Sax. Chr.* 88.

² BROMTON. *X. Scriptores*. Lond. 1652, col. 788. Whitby was then called Streaneshalch. This famous conference was holden there in 664.—WHARTON de Episc. Dunelm. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 692. Inett (*Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* i. 62) seems to think that the Roman party might have prevailed before, had it not been for the uncommon merit of Aidan and Finan; and that its eventual prevalence arose from some inequality to its predecessors on the part of Colman. The principal reason, however, there can be no doubt, was the influence of Eanfleda.

of Essex, conducted the British cause.¹ Wilfrid pleaded for that of Rome. The national divines insisted chiefly upon a tradition originating, as alleged, in St. John, our Lord's beloved disciple. The foreign party traced Roman tradition to St. Peter, who was intrusted by Christ with the keys of heaven. "Were they really intrusted to him?" asked Oswy. "Undoubtedly so," he was answered. "And can you allege the grant of any such privilege to an authority of yours?" Oswy then demanded. "We cannot," Colman replied. "I must leave your party, then," said Oswy; "for I should not choose to disoblige him who keeps the key of Heaven. It might be found impossible to get the door open when I seek admittance."² Unless

¹ Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, was the real representative of the Roman party; but he devolved the advocacy of his case upon Wilfrid, on account of his own imperfect acquaintance with the Saxon language.

² BED. iii. 25. p. 236. It is curious to observe how Romish partisans, eventually, expanded favourable hints into broad admissions. Oswy's concluding speech stands thus in Bede:—"Ego vobis dico, quia hic est ostiarius ille cui ego contradicere nolo, sed in quantum novi, vel valeo, hujus cupio in omnibus obedire statutis, ne forte, me adveniente ad fores regni cœlorum, non sit qui reseret, adverso illo qui claves tenere probatur." John of Tinmouth, an unpublished chronicler of the 14th century, gives the following version of these words:—"Ex quo, quod vos omnes in hoc consentitis, quod Christus tradidit Petro claves regni cœlestis, *una cum ecclesie principatu*, nec alteri alicui tale quid commisit, dico vobis quod tali ostiario contradicere non audeo, ne forsitan, cum venero, claudat mihi fores." (*Bibl. Lameth. MSS. 12. f. 26.*) It should be observed, that although Wilfrid appealed to the authority of the Roman see as deserving respectful attention, he did not claim for it any right of deciding the controversy.—See *Bampton Lectures*, p. 163.

one again remembered the chieftains of America, this language would seem like jest rather than earnest. But it was generally applauded, and the ancient usages of Britain were formally renounced. Colman, however, with many of his adherents, were disgusted, and retired to their brethren in Scotland.¹

Probably this triumph of the Roman party involved little or no change in articles of belief. If we except prayers and offerings for the dead, we have indeed no sufficient evidence that papal peculiarities of doctrine were then established. Gregory the Great is known, from his epistles, to have repudiated the authority since claimed for his see,² and to have disapproved the adoration of images.³ His Sacramentary shews him to have earnestly desired of God that departed saints should pray for the faithful, but to have lived before Christians had fallen into a habit of invoking them.⁴ Of ceremonies he was a zealous patron; and upon the whole, undoubtedly, he bore no unimportant part in laying the foundations of Romanism both in England and elsewhere. Still the system established under his auspices was widely different from that eventually sanctioned at Trent. Ritually the two were very much alike; doctrinally very far apart. The earliest Anglo-Saxon Christians,

¹ BED. iii. 26, p. 239.

² GREG. PP. *Epist.* lib. iv. 32, 34, 38, 39. *Lab. et Coss.* v. 1182, 1189, 1192, 1195.

³ *Ejusd.* *Epist.* 9. lib. ix.

⁴ See a prayer from his MS. Sacramentary, formerly belonging to the church of Exeter, now in the Bodleian library.—*Bampt. Lect.* 218.

therefore, agreed essentially with their descendants since the Reformation in all but services for the dead. Reasons assigned for these are, however, so very far from satisfactory, that their discontinuance in the sixteenth century may fairly be considered, not only as allowable, but even as an exercise of sound discretion.¹

¹ A priest, Gregory says, had received many attentions from an unknown person at a warm bath. By way of recompense he brought him one day some bread, which had been among the eucharistic oblations. "Why do you give me this, Father?" his attendant said. "This is holy bread: I cannot eat it. I was once master here, and am still bound to the place for my sins. If you wish to serve me, offer this bread in my behalf; and know that your prayers are heard, when you find me here no longer." The speaker then vanished. A week was now spent by the priest in fasting, prayers, and daily offerings of the Eucharist. When it was expired he went to the bath again, but he saw nothing of his former attendant."—GREG. *Mag. P. Opp.* tom. iii. p. 304.

This idle tale is an instructive commentary upon prevailing notions as to the soul's posthumous condition. As it is only one among many such stories, long circulated in proof of purgatory and in support of services for the dead, our Reformers, having no scriptural warrant for such services, were fully justified in discontinuing them. Though of high antiquity they had been largely indebted for popularity to such contemptible inventions, and they had been latterly urged as undeniable evidences that primitive times held the Platonic doctrine of purgatory.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THEODORE TO ALCUIN.

669—804.

WILFRID'S APPOINTMENT TO THE PRELACY—THEODORE—COUNCIL OF HERTFORD—WILFRID'S DISGRACE—COUNCIL OF HATFIELD—BENEDICT BISCOP—ORIGIN OF A PAROCHIAL CLERGY—DEATH OF THEODORE—FINAL TROUBLES, AND DEATH OF WILFRID—LAWS OF INA—COUNCILS OF BAPCHILD, AND BERGHAMSTED—CHURCH-SHOT—TYTHES—MONASTERIES—PILGRIMAGES TO ROME—ALDHELM—BEDE—EGBERT—TRIPARTITE DIVISION OF TYTHES—ALCUIN—BONIFACE—COUNCIL OF CLOVESHOO—OFFA, AND THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF LICHFIELD—COUNCIL OF CALCUTH—PETER-PENCE—IMAGE WORSHIP—RECEIVED WITH EXECRATION IN ENGLAND—THE CAROLINE BOOKS—EGBERT'S PENITENTIAL.

AT Whitby, Augustine's ambitious designs were only realised in part. All England now, indeed, received religious usages from Italy; but no farther concession seems to have been intended. When, accordingly, Tuda, another of the revered Scottish divines,¹ was chosen to succeed Colman, he did not seek con-

¹ It was, probably, Tuda's connection with former bishops of Northumbria, joined to his early partiality for usages different from theirs, that procured his election to the episcopate. Something of a compromise might seem to have been intended in this appointment. Bromton bears the following testimony to the excellence of the three preceding bishops. "Hi autem tres episcopi Scotorum prædicti; scilicet, Aidanus, Finanus, et Colmannus, miræ sanctitatis et parcimoniæ extiterunt, nec enim potentes seculi suscipiebant, nisi qui ad eos causa orandi solummodo veniebant."—X. *Scrip-tores*, 789.

secration at Canterbury, but among the Picts, or southern Scots, a Christian body ever in communion with Rome.¹ His possession of the Northumbrian see lasting only a few months, Wilfrid, then about thirty,² was appointed bishop. He, too, disregarded Canterbury;³ and crossing over into Gaul, obtained consecration at Compeigne from his friend, Agilbert, now removed from the West Saxon bishopric to that of Paris.⁴

In Wilfrid, real excellences were alloyed by levity and ostentation. He did not, accordingly, hasten to return after consecration, but thoughtlessly displayed his new dignity amidst the tempting hospitalities of Gaul. His royal patron, disgusted by this delay, conferred the Northumbrian see upon Chad, abbot of Lestingham, and brother to the East Saxon bishop.⁵ The prelate elect would have been consecrated at Canterbury, had not Deusdedit, the archbishop, in-

¹ BED. iii. 26. p. 239. "Ipsi australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore, ut perhibent, relicto errore idololatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Nynia episcopo reverendissimo et sanctissimo viro de natione Britonum, *qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus.*"—*Ib.* iii. 4. p. 169.

² SIM. Dunelm. X. *Script.* 78.

³ "Rex Alchfrid misit Wilfridum presbyterum ad regem Galliarum, qui eum sibi suisque consecrari faceret episcopum." (BED. iii. 28. p. 246.) Wilfrid desired this, being unwilling to receive consecration "either from prelates not in communion with Rome, as the Britons and Scots, or from those who agree with schismatics: *qui schismaticis consentiunt.*" (Eddii Vita Wilf. XV. *Script.* Oxon. 1691. iii. 57). This last clause is, probably, the key to his disregard of Canterbury.

⁴ *Ib.* 247. Bromton, 789.

⁵ STUBBS. Act. PP. Ebor. X. *Script.* 1689.

opportunistically died. He repaired, therefore, to Winchester, and received consecration from Wine, the bishop there, assisted by two British bishops.¹ The two kings of Kent and Northumbria now thought of staying the progress of religious dissension, by sending a new primate to Rome for consecration. Their choice fell upon Wighard, a native priest, who was very kindly entertained at the papal court, but who died there before consecration.² This opportunity was not lost upon Italian subtlety. Vitalian, then pope, determined upon trying whether the Anglo-Saxons would receive an archbishop nominated by himself. He chose eventually Theodore, an able and learned monk of sixty-six, born at Tarsus, in Cilicia.³ As former nominations to Anglo-Saxon sees had been domestic, some doubt would naturally arise as to Theodore's reception; and after consecration, he spent several months in Gaul. The insular princes, however, wearied by the animosities of contending parties, only sought an umpire likely to command respect; hence they did not merely receive Theodore, but also they conceded to him that primacy over the whole Anglo-Saxon church, vainly coveted by Augustine, and after his death apparently regarded as unattainable.⁴

¹ BED. iii. 28. p. 247. Wine was then the only prelate in the island, whose conformity to Roman usages made him considered by that party as canonically consecrated.—*Ib.*

² *Ib.* iii. 29. p. 249.

³ *Ib.* iv. 1. p. 254. Theodore was consecrated, at Rome, by Pope Vitalian, in March, 668, and he came to Canterbury in May, 669.—WHARTON, de Vera Success. Archiep. Cantuar. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 93.

⁴ BED. iv. 2. p. 258.

Theodore may be regarded as the parent of Anglo-Saxon literature. His exertions to illumine his adopted country were unwearied, and were crowned by the happiest success. Learned labours were not allowed, however, to trench unduly on his time. He made efficient use of his authority, by taking extensive journeys, and urging every where an uniformity with Rome. One of the earliest cases referred to him was that of Wilfrid. The superseded bishop represented Chad as an intruder, and begged for his own restitution to a see of which he had been so so unexpectedly deprived. At all events, Theodore decided Chad had been uncanonically consecrated. Upon this, however, that humble Christian felt no disposition to dispute: "He had been unwillingly drawn," he said, "from his beloved abbey at Lestingham, and thither he should again gladly retire."¹ He did not long enjoy there that religious obscurity which his mind so fondly coveted. Jaruman, the Mercian bishop, died soon after; and Chad, having consented to the imposition of Theodore's hands,² was placed in the deceased prelate's room at the Mercian king's desire. Wilfrid regained possession of the Northumbrian diocess, then extending beyond the confines of modern England into the country of Oswy's Pictish subjects.³

A national synod was now convened⁴ by Theodore,⁵ at Hertford, a frequent residence of the East

¹ BED. 259. ² *Ib.* 260. ³ *Ib.* iv. 3. p. 261. ⁴ A.D. 673.

⁵ Baronius would have it believed that this council met under authority of the Roman see. English Protestants have understood it to have met under authority of the Saxon princes. The latter is

Saxon kings.¹ The bishops of East Anglia, Rochester, Wessex, and Mercia, were personally present, together with many well known canonists. Wilfrid, the Northumbrian prelate, sent two representatives. "My object," said Theodore, "is a solemn engagement by us all, to observe uniformly whatever the holy fathers have decreed and defined." He then asked his hearers, individually, whether they were willing; being answered affirmatively, he produced a body of canon-law,² and from it selected ten provisions, as especially demanding approbation. These prescribe the Roman Easter, some regulations for bishops, clergymen, and monks; the holding of synods twice in every year, and the due maintenance of matrimonial ties. The approval sought followed a sufficient examination, and was regularly signed. Refractory clergymen were to be disqualified from officiating, and utterly disowned.³

a more probable supposition than the former. But Bede, who is the only source of information, says merely *Theodorus cogit concilium*.

¹ CHAUNCY'S *Hertfordshire*. 1826. p. 453. Bede's spelling is *Heorutford*, which has occasioned some speculation. Cambden, and after him, Chauncy, say that this means *The Red Ford*, and is a translation of *Durocbriva*, the ancient British name of Hertford. They proceed, however, upon the principle of taking *he* as identical in Saxon with *the*, which Spelman reasonably says *ego non reperio*. King Alfred's translation of Bede has *Heortford*, and so has the Saxon Chronicle. There can, in fact, be little or no doubt that Hertford is the place.

² Probably "the collection, or book of canons, which is mentioned in the thirteenth session of the Council of Calcedon, and was afterwards confirmed in a *novel* of the Emperor Justinian."—INETT. i. 77.

³ BED. iv. 5. p. 271. The ten especial canons may be there

Theodore, after thus providing a national code of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, authorised two episcopal depositions. Winfrid, bishop of Mercia, having given some offence,¹ was driven from his bishopric, and the metropolitan approved.² He did the same in Wilfrid's case. Egfrid, the Northumbrian king, had married Etheldred, an East Anglian princess, bred a zealous Christian, and smitten with a superstitious trust in monastic austerities. A subject of high distinction had been her husband in early youth, but she repelled his embraces. As a queen, this pertinacity continued: vain were Egfrid's importunities, vain his promises and persuasions to her spiritual adviser, Wilfrid. At length her humour was indulged, and she gladly left the profusion of a court for the privations of a cloister.³ The new queen, probably, found Egfrid prejudiced against Wilfrid, as an abettor of his late wife's mortifying repugnance. The Northumbrian prince, accordingly, became an attentive hearer, when she painted invidiously his extensive acquisitions and ostentatious habits.⁴ Two prelacies, it was urged,⁵ might be maintained upon his endow-

seen at length, and also in *Spelman* (i. p. 153.), *Wilkins* (i. 41.), and as translated in *Johnson's Collection*, and in *Chauncy*, i. 254.

¹ "Per meritum cujusdam inobedientiæ."—BED. iv. 6. p. 275.

² Wharton considers the Council of Hertford to have determined upon dividing the immense diocese of Mercia, and that Wilfrid's consent was found unattainable. (*Angl. Sacr.* i. 424.) This is, probably, the fact.

³ BED. iv. 19. p. 304.

⁴ MALMESBURY.—*Scriptores post Bedam*, 149.

⁵ Two prelacies were actually founded, on his disgrace; those of York, and Hagulstad, the modern Hexham. Johnson says, (*Collection*. Pref. to the Rom. Counc. 679.), "Wilfrid, for opposing

ments, and the charge was too great for one. His own consent, however, for any division, appears to have been hopeless: hence the case was laid before Theodore, under whose deliberate sanction he was deprived of his bishopric. National authorities being all against him, he determined upon trying the effect of papal interposition. At Rome, he found some sort of council sitting, and before it he laid his case. The body pronounced his treatment uncanonical, and Pope Agatho furnished him with a letter, announcing this decision. Papal jurisdiction, however, being unknown to Wilfrid's countrymen, they spurned Agatho's interference, and angrily thrust the disgraced prelate into prison; ¹ nor, when liberated, could he regain his bishopric. Under this disappointment he was driven to display the best parts of his character: he passed into Sussex, yet a neglected, heathen district; and his active, able mind, there found honourable employment in evangelising the country. ²

That interminable folly of rash and conceited spirits, from which arises a succession of subtle speculations on the Deity, had lately agitated Christen-

this partition, was deposed, if not degraded." From the following words of Stubbs, it is plain that Wilfrid's disgrace was not a hasty measure, nor, probably, uncanonical." *Quia rex pontificem de sede sua præter consensum Theodori archiepiscopi Cantuar. pellere nequibat, mandavit archiepiscopo ut adesset, auditisque quas accusatores ejus finxerant causis, pulsus est ab episcopatu sanctus Wilfridus, anno ab incarnatione Domini DC. lxxviii. qui est annus episcopatus sui xiiij. et per decennium exulavit.*"—*Act. PP. Ebor. X. Script.* 1691.

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, 168. MALMESBURY de Gest. PP. Angl. — *Scriptores post Bedam*, 150.

² BED. iv. 13. p. 292.

dom by broaching *Monothelite* opinions. These had been approved, amidst the din of a bewildering controversy, even by Honorius, then Roman pontiff,—an indiscretion sorely embarrassing to advocates of papal infallibility.¹ Agatho, a successor of his, advised Constantine Pogonatus to enforce religious peace, in a general council. This met at Constantinople in 680, and condemned the Monothelites. For the same purpose, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, procured a meeting of the Anglo-Saxon church at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire,² then a portion of the royal patrimony.³ This assembly solemnly received the first five general councils,⁴ and a synod lately holden at Rome.⁵ Thus was the foundation laid of that sound discretion in treating questions above human comprehension, from which the Church of England never has departed. Crude novelties respecting “the deep things of God”⁶ have invariably been irreconcilable with her communion.

Among the divines at Hatfield was John the

¹ MOSHEIM, Cent. VII. ch. v. Berw. 1819. vol. ii. p. 191.

² BED. iv. 17. p. 300. The Council of Hatfield met in September, 680.

³ CHAUNCY, ii. 4. The Saxon kings continued in possession of his estate, until king Edgar bestowed it upon the monastery of Ely.—*Ib.*

⁴ That of Nice, against the Arians; that of Constantinople, against Macedonius and Eudoxius; that of Ephesus, against Nestorius; that of Chalcedon, against Eutyches and Nestorius; and that of Constantinople, against Theodore, Theodoret, and the Epistles of Ibas.—BED. *ut supra*. SPELM. i. 168. WILK. i. 51.

⁵ In 649, under Martin I. The particular object of this was to condemn the Monothelites.—See LABB. *et* COSS. vi. 354.

⁶ 1 Cor. ii. 10.

Precentor, an illustrious foreigner, brought over by Benedict Biscop.¹ That noble Northumbrian had been designed in youth for a military life, but literature and religion made him their own. He travelled accordingly to Rome, and, on his return, amazed his countrymen by a considerable collection of books.² A collector in modern days would also have imported antiquities and works of art. Benedict, as might be expected, imported relics,³ and valued them probably, intellectual as he was, even more highly than his volumes. For the whole collection a resting place was provided in a monastery, founded by Benedict's means, at the mouth of the Wear. To this retreat he also conducted the *Precentor*, whom he drew from Roman society, as a master for his rising community of monks, in chanting the service and in reading Latin.⁴ Before John's departure, he was furnished by the pope with a copy of the decrees lately passed synodically at Rome against the Monothelites. It was also his charge to make particular observations upon the faith of England.⁵ Although Theodore, by uncommon ability, zeal, and firmness, had brought the whole Anglo-Saxon people to a conformity with papal usages, yet leading Roman ecclesiastics were jealous and suspicious. He was a Greek, and re-

¹ BED. iv. 18. p. 302.

² "Librorum innumerabilem, ut legitur, omnis generis copiam, domum comportavit."—*Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Nero. E. 1. Vita Venerabilis Bedæ*, f. 394.

³ DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, i. 96. "Quot vero Benedictus divina volumina, quantas beatorum apostolorum sive martyrum Christi reliquias attulit, quis annunciet?"—SIM. *Dunelm. X. Script.* 92.

⁴ BED. iv. 18. p. 303.

⁵ *Ib.*

markable for independence of mind. Hence Pope Vitalian sent him originally into England with Adrian, a learned abbot, who aided him zealously in spreading literature through the country, but who was to be a spy upon his actions.¹ This espionage, the successor of Vitalian gladly renewed by means of the *Precentor*.

Besides providing for his adopted country an outline of ecclesiastical jurisprudence and terms of religious conformity, Theodore appears to have been guided by an usage of his native Asia in planning the establishment of a parochial clergy. Under royal sanction, he followed Justinian in offering the *per-*
tual patronage of churches as an encouragement for their erection.² Opulent proprietors were thus tempted to supply the spiritual wants of their tenantry; and Bede records two instances in which this judicious policy proved effective.³ Theodore's oriental system

¹ "Ne quid ille contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more, in Ecclesiam cui præesset, introduceret.—BED. iii. 1. p. 255.

² WHELOC. in Bed. p. 399. The authority is an extract from the *Codex Cantuariensis*, a MS. in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. "There are some things also to be found in those laws (of Justinian), which shew that country churches had anciently been built and endowed in the East; since Justinian there begins about this time to settle the rights of patronage, giving to him who had built the church, the power to nominate a priest to officiate in it, but leaving the bishop authority to approve or reject the person so nominated."—COMBER's *Divine Right of Tythes*. Part 2. p. 79.

³ The cases of Puch and Addi, both counts, in the north of England. (*Bed.* v. 4, 5. pp. 375, 388.) There can be no doubt that many other such cases of pious munificence had occurred when Bede wrote, for he does not mention these as extraordinary acts.

had been, however, in operation for ages before every English estate of any magnitude had secured the benefit of a church within its boundary. This very lingering progress has thrown much obscurity around the origin of parishes. The principle of their formation will, however, account sufficiently for their unequal sizes, and for existing rights of patronage.

At the great age of eighty-eight, Theodore was released from earthly labours.¹ His life had been no less honourable than long; and he must, undoubtedly, be ranked among the ablest of English primates. A Protestant may possibly regret that such eminent qualities laid the foundation of an insidious influence, which eventually adulterated sound religion, and insulted the national independence. The days of Theodore, however, were anterior to most Roman innovations, and he seems always to have looked upon the papal see under an Oriental feeling of independence. Far inferior persons in the religious history of ancient England have, accordingly, been canonised. The name of Theodore, although he was the corner stone of pontifical authority through all the British isles, will be vainly sought among the saintly rubrics in a Romish calendar: but his reputation stands on higher grounds. He first gave stability to the religious establishment of England, by defining principles of doctrine and discipline. He provided for the nation's intellectual growth, by a zealous and active patronage of learning. During the earlier years

¹ BED. v. 8. p. 398. Theodore died in 690. INETT. i. 117. *Sax. Chr.* 57.

of his English residence, instruction was indeed given personally, both by himself and by his friend, Adrian, in every branch of scholarship then known to students.¹ As a theologian, Theodore long maintained a high degree of importance. He had adopted a prevailing opinion, that every sin must be visited by some corresponding penalty.² For the just apportionment of this, he compiled his famous *Penitential*, an assumed authority for the modern Romish confessional, of extraordinary value from its antiquity and bulk. Theodore, however, has afforded Romanists considerable embarrassment, by pronouncing confession to God alone sufficient for spiritual safety.³ His authority, therefore, is unfavourable to sacramental absolution, that scholastic lure, so ominous to attrite souls, but admirably fitted for a ready and powerful hold upon mankind.

When Theodore felt his end approaching, he thought of Wilfrid,⁴ conscious, perhaps, of some harshness towards him, or merely anxious to render him a parting service. As usual, that vain and restless prelate had shone under adversity. On his first

¹ BED. iv. 2. p. 259.

² See *Bampton Lectures*. Sermon V.

³ See the canon, as given in the published *Penitential*, *Bampt. Lect.* 289. It stands thus in an ancient copy, or fragment of Theodore's *Penitential*, in the British Museum (MSS. Cotton. Vespasian. D. 15, f. 100). "Confessionem suam dō soli, si necesse est, licebit agere."

⁴ MALMESBURY de Gest. PP. Angl. *Script. post Bed.* 151. Malmesbury, as might be expected from his Romish prejudices, makes Theodore deeply repentant on account of his conduct to Wilfrid.

journey in quest of Roman interference, he had been driven by stress of weather into Friesland, and had nobly spent a winter there in evangelising the heathen population.¹ In his recent exile, he had rendered a like invaluable service to pagan Sussex.² Whatever, therefore, might have been Theodore's displeasure or disapprobation, he could not fail of considering the expatriated prelate a very meritorious labourer in the Gospel vineyard. He now wrote in his favour to the court of Northumberland, and Wilfrid was again tempted by prosperity, being restored to his bishopric. At first his jurisdiction did not reach its original extent; but, on the death of Cuthbert, he was once more invested with spiritual authority over the whole Northumbrian dominions. Unhappily, however, his intractable, haughty spirit, had not even yet been sufficiently disciplined: he could not bend himself to the canons enacted under Theodore, or endure the conversion of his own monastic foundation, at Hexham, into an episcopal see.³ These new displays of turbulence induced the king to call several of the prelacy together; and under their sanction Wilfrid was once more driven into exile.⁴ His age was now verging upon seventy, but anger and impatience yet roused him into activity. He again hastened to Rome; and regardless of the contempt poured by his countrymen upon papal interference before, he

¹ BED. v. 20. p. 443.

² *Ib.* 444.

³ "Secunda est (causa dissentionis) ut monasterium supradictum, quod in privilegium nobis donabatur, in episcopalem sedem transmutatur."—EDDII, Vit. Wilf. XV. *Script.* iii. 74.

⁴ BED. v. 20. p. 444.

laid his case before the pontiff, and pleaded strenuously for a favourable judgment. His exertions having prevailed, he made another experiment upon the authorities of Northumbria. He was partially successful: a synod assembled on the banks of the Nidd, allowing him the see of Hexham, which he held peaceably during the remaining four years of his agitated life.¹ His indefatigable zeal for Italian usages, and repeated calls for papal interference, were naturally thought, in the course of years, an ample title to Romish invocation. St. Wilfrid's tutelage was, accordingly, long implored in northern England.

In the time of Wilfrid, England legally became a Christian commonwealth. A legislative assembly, holden under Ina, king of the West Saxons,² imposed fines upon parents neglecting the timely baptism of their infants,³ and upon labour on Sundays.⁴ It also gave the privilege of sanctuary to churches, made perjury before a bishop highly penal,⁵ placed epis-

¹ BED. 447. Wilfrid died in 709, at Oundle, in Northamptonshire, and was buried at Ripon, in Yorkshire.—WHARTON de Episc. Dunelm. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 695. *Sax. Chr.* 61.

² About the year 693.—JOHNSON, *sub. ann.*

³ Unless a child were baptised within thirty days, the father was to be fined as many shillings; if it died before baptism, he was to forfeit all his possessions.

⁴ A slave, working on Sunday by his lord's order, was to become free, and the lord was to pay thirty shillings; by his own will, he was to be whipped, or pay a pecuniary compensation instead.

⁵ " This was one reason for the bishop's sitting on the temporal bench with the alderman, viz. to tender necessary oaths in the most

copal and royal residences upon the same footing as to housebreakers,¹ and recognised baptismal relationship by pecuniary satisfactions.² About the same time Wihtred, king of Kent, in two meetings of his legislature, one holden at Bapchild,³ the other at Berghamsted,⁴ confirmed churches in all properties

solemn manner; for the English, in this age, were under the greatest awe of falsifying an oath taken on the bishop's hand, or on a cross holden in his hand."—JOHNSON.

¹ 120 shillings was to be the satisfaction for this offence in either case. The next case mentioned is the breaking into an alderman's house. For this 80 shillings was the penalty.

² The compensation for killing a godson, or a godfather, was to be made to the survivor, just as if the parties had been related in blood.

³ Becanceld, or Baccanceld, is the Saxon name of this place: "now called Bapchild, near to Sittingbourn, on the Canterbury side, being about midway between the coast of Kent and London, and therefore a very convenient place for a Kentish council. At this place, not many years since, were the visible remains of two chapels, standing very near to one another, on the right hand of the road from Canterbury to Sittingbourn. The present church stands on the opposite side, at no great distance from them. Dr. Plott, many years ago, observed to me, that this, and other circumstances, were good presumptions, that this was the old Baccanceld, the place for Kentish councils. The old Saxons very often wrote a simple *c*, where we now write and pronounce *ch*."—JOHNSON, *sub. ann.* 692.

The *Saxon Chronicle* assigns the council at Bapchild to 694, and this date has been adopted by Spelman. Bede, however (v. 9. p. 400), says that Brihtwald, Theodore's successor, was elected to the see of Canterbury July 1, 692, Wihtred being then king of Kent. Johnson makes it appear that Wihtred began his reign in that very year; and the *Saxon Chronicle* says, perhaps rather loosely, "as soon as he was king, he ordained a great council to meet in the place that is called Bapchild." Hence Johnson infers that 692 is the true date of this council.

⁴ "Perhaps, now Burstled, or Barsted, near Maidstone." (Johnson, *sub. ann.* 696.) Chauncy, who assigns 697, the fifth

and immunities bestowed upon them; allowed a *veto* to the archbishop, on the election of bishops and abbots; inflicted penalties upon incontinence; lent solemnity to altars, by making them the places for manumitting slaves and taking oaths; and fined the profanation of Sunday,¹ idolatrous offerings, and the eating of flesh on fast days.

The laws of Ina record also England's earliest known enactment for supplying the exigences of public worship, anciently provided for by oblations upon the altar. When whole communities became Christian, such contributions would not only be precarious, but also often most unfairly levied. Ina's legislature wisely, therefore, commuted voluntary offerings for a regular assessment upon houses. Every dwelling was to be valued at Christmas; and the rate so imposed, called *church-shot*, was payable on the following Martinmas. Money being scarce, the payment was made in produce; usually in grain or seed, but sometimes in poultry. Defaulters were to be fined forty shillings, and to pay the *church-shot*

year of Wihtred, as the date of the council, supposes it to have been holden at Berkhamsted, in Hertfordshire, where "the kings of Mercia often resided and kept their court." A place within the bounds of Kent, however, seems more likely to have been chosen by a Kentish prince.

¹ Sunday was reckoned from sunset on Saturday, until sunset on Sunday. A remnant of this ancient reckoning is, perhaps, yet to be found in the half-holidays usual in schools, on Saturdays. Wihtred's council was not quite so strict as that of Ina, inasmuch as lords making their slaves work on Sundays did not thereby lose their property in them necessarily, being merely liable to pay a satisfaction of eighty shillings.

twelfefold.¹ This pious care of divine ministrations may be considered as the legal origin of *church-rates*. Thus, earlier than almost any of English written laws, appears on record a legislative provision for the sacramental elements, and like demands of our holy profession. Of titles to property, unless royal or ecclesiastical, no one approaches even an era so remote. It is true that Ina's laws were only legally binding within the limits of his own dominions; but, probably, such of them as bore upon religion, if not so confirmed already, were soon confirmed by the usage or express enactments of every petty principality around. *Church-scot* accordingly makes repeated appearances among the legislative acts of other Anglo-Saxon states; and even the latest of these is far earlier than any title to a private inheritance.

The sacred and inalienable right of God's ministers to maintenance—poverty's most important claim on opulence²—appears not among the laws of Ina; an omission understood as evidence, that provision for the souls of men was already made ordinarily, and not unwillingly, by means of tythes.³

¹ LL. INÆ, 4, 10. SPELM. i. 184, 185. WILK. i. 59. JOHNSON, *sub ann.* 693.

² Let any observer cast his eye upon a considerable country congregation, and he must feel that very few present either do, or can pay any thing in support of the public worship and instruction by which all are benefitting. To say nothing, therefore, of relief, local expenditure, and assistance of various kinds, which an endowed ministry confers upon rural districts, it is plainly the only means for securing to them a supply of sound religious knowledge.

³ “We cannot doubt but tythes were paid in England, at this time, and before: Boniface, in the year 693, was twenty years of

These had, indeed, been rendered in every age, and under every religion.¹ Hence their origin, probably, ascends to that patriarchal faith, which ever shed a glimmering ray over even the most benighted

age (he was born 670); and he testifies that tythes were paid in the English church, in his letter to Cuthbert; and there is reason to believe that they were paid freely and fully, or else this king (*Ina*), who made so severe a law for paying the *church-scot*, would have made a severer for paying tythes, as some kings did, some hundred years after this, when the people's first fervours abated. The *church-scot* was a new taxation, and therefore not readily paid; tythes were from the beginning, and therefore paid without re-
pinning."—JOHNSON, *sub ann.* 693.

¹ "In *Arabia*, we find a law whereby every merchant was obliged to offer the *tenth* of his frankincense, which was the chief product and commodity of this country, to the god *Sabis*. (PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* l. xii. c. 14.) The *Carthaginians* sent the *tythe* of their spoils taken in the *Sicilian* war to *Hercules* of *Tyre*. (JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 7.) The *Ethiopians* paid *tythes* to their god *Assabinus*. (PLIN. l. xii. c. 19.) The *Grecian* army which was conducted by *Xenophon*, in their memorable retreat after the death of *Cyrus*, reserved a *tenth* of their money to be dedicated to *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and *Diana* at *Ephesus*. (XENOPH. *de Exp. Cyr.* l. v.) When the *Greeks* had driven the *Persians* out of their country, they consecrated a golden tripod, made of the *tenths* of their spoils, to *Delphian Apollo*. (DIOD. SIC. l. xi.) The inhabitants of the isle *Siphnus* presented every year the *tenths* of the gold and silver digged out of their mines to the same god. (PAUSAN. *Phoc.*) The *Athenians*, and their confederates, dedicated a buckler of gold out of the *tenths* of the spoils taken at *Tanagra* to *Jupiter*. (*Ib. Eliac.* 4.) And the *Athenians* dedicated a chariot and horses of gold, made out of another *tenth*, to *Pallas*. (HEROD. l. v. c. 77.) When *Cyrus* has conquered *Lydia*, *Cræsus* advised him to prevent his soldiers from plundering the goods of the *Lydians*, ὥς σφία ἀναγκάως ἔχειν δικάτευσθαι τῷ Διι, because they were of necessity to be tythed to *Jupiter*. (*Ib.* l. i.) The *Crotonians* vow to give a *tenth* of the spoils which they should take in their war with the *Locrians*, to *Delphian Apollo*. (JUSTIN. l. xx. c. ult.) *Sylla*, the *Roman* general, dedicated the *tenth* of all his estate to

branches of Adam's posterity.¹ Conversion to Christianity strengthened pagan prejudice in favour of this appropriation. It was the very provision, expressly enjoined by God, for that Levitical establishment

Hercules. (PLUTARCH. *Sylla.*) And the same was done by *M. Crassus.* (*Ib. Crasso.*) And we are told by Plutarch (*Roman. Quæst.*) that this was a constant custom at *Rome.* *Hercules* himself is said to have dedicated to the gods the *tenth* of the spoils which he took from *Geryon.* (DIONYS. HALICARN. l. i.) When *Camillus* sacked *Veii*, a city of *Hetruria*, the soldiers seized the spoils for their own use, without reserving the accustomed *tenth* for the gods. After this, the augurs discovered, by their observations on the sacrifices, that the gods were exceedingly offended; whereupon the *senate* of *Rome* required all the soldiers to account upon oath for the spoils which they had taken, and to pay a *tenth* of them, or the full value: all which, with a golden cup of eight talents, was conveyed to Apollo's temple at *Delphi* by three men of the first quality in *Rome.* (PLUTARCH. *Camillo.*) And lastly, we are informed by *Festus*, that the *ancients offered to their gods the tythes of all things* without any exception."—(POTTER'S *Discourse of Church Government.* Lond. 1707, p. 430.) From this general usage, the Greeks, we learn from *Harpocration*, understood *δεκατεῦσαι*, *to tythe*, as if it were *καθιεροῦν*, *to consecrate*; ἐπειδὴ περ ἔθος ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν περιγινόμενων τοῖς Θεοῖς καθιεροῦν, *since it was the Grecian custom to consecrate the tythes of their acquisitions to the gods.*—HARPOC. in *voc. Δεκατεύειν.* Ed. Maussac. Par. 1614, p. 76. See also Sir HENRY SPELMAN'S *Larger Treatise concerning Tythes.* Lond. 1647, p. 114, *et seq.*—Dr. COMBER'S *Historical Vindication of the Divine Right of Tythes.* Lond. 1685. Part I. ch. iii. p. 29.

¹ "They who are guided by chance, or fancy, and act without any certain and fixed rule, cannot be supposed to agree in the same manner of acting: and, therefore, since the most distant nations, many of whom do not appear to have had any intercourse with one another, agreed in dedicating an exact *Tenth*, we can scarce derive this consent from any other principle, beside the tradition of *Adam*, or *Noah*, or some other *Patriarch*, who lived before the dispersion from *Babel*; and it can scarce be conceived, that any of the *Patriarchs* should enjoin the observation of this tradition upon the

which an evangelical ministry had superseded. Men were accordingly exhorted to consecrate the tenth of their substance as a religious duty, and tender consciences obediently heard a call so strong in Scriptural authority—so familiar even to heathen practice. The Anglo-Saxons had been, as usual, prepared for such appeals after conversion, by habit previously formed.¹ They seem also to have found the tenth esteemed God's portion among British Christians;²

whole race of mankind, without a Divine precept for it."—POTTER, p. 428.

¹ It appears from Sidonius Apollinaris, that the Saxon pirates were in the habit of sacrificing the *tenth* captive to their gods. (COMBER, 190.) Their captives were, in fact, merchandise. Malmesbury tells us (*de Gest. RR. Angl.* p. 6.) that Cedwalla, king of the West Saxons, baptised in 686, *tythed* all his warlike spoils taken even before baptism. "Inter hæc arduum memoratu est, quantum etiam ante baptismum inservierit pietati, ut omnes manubias, quas jure prædatorio in suos usus transcripserat, *Deo decimaret*." This statement gives room for inferring that *tything* was familiar to the pagan Saxons, and hardly allows a doubt of its establishment among the Christians of Wessex in 686.

² This may be inferred from the following tale related of Augustine, the Kentish apostle. When preaching in Oxfordshire, a village priest addressed him thus:—"Father, the lord of this place refuses to pay tythes, and my threats of excommunication only increase his obstinacy." Augustine then tried *his* powers of persuasion, but the lord replied, "Did not I plough and sow the land? The tenth part belongs to him who owns the remaining nine." It was now time for mass, and Augustine, turning to the altar, said, "I command every excommunicated person to leave the church." Immediately a pallid corpse arose from beneath the doorway, stalked across the churchyard, and stood motionless beyond its boundary. The congregation, gazing in horror and affright, called Augustine's attention to the spectre. He did not choose, however, to break off the service. Having concluded, he said, "Be not alarmed. With cross and holy water in hand, we

it is highly probable, therefore, that the silence of Ina upon clerical maintenance merely resulted from general acquiescence in a system which immemorial usage prescribed, and Scripture sanctioned.¹

shall know the meaning of this." He then went forward, and thus accosted the ghastly stranger :—" I enjoin thee, in the name of God, tell me who thou art ?" The ghost replied, " In British times I was lord here ; but no warnings of the priest could ever bring me to pay my tythes. At length he excommunicated me, and my disembodied soul was thrust into hell. When the excommunicated were bidden to depart, your attendant angels drove me from my grave." Augustine's power was now exerted in raising the excommunicating priest from his narrow resting-place ; and having thus a second spectre before him, he asked, " Know you this person ?" The unearthly clergyman replied, " Full well, and to my cost." He was then reminded by Augustine of God's mercy, and of the departed lord's long torture in hell ; a scourge was put into his hand, the excommunicated party knelt before him, received absolution, and then quietly returned to the grave. His own return thither soon followed, although Augustine, desirous of his assistance in preaching the Gospel, would fain have prayed for a renewed term of life."—BROMTON. X. *Script.* 736.

Besides the inference to be drawn from this apocryphal story, Germanus and Lupus are said, on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, to have taught the Britons " to pay their tythes partly to the bishop, and partly to their baptismal church."—COMBER, 183.

¹ The Mosaical provision for God's ministers is obviously a reasonable precedent for the guidance of Christians. Express authority for this particular provision could hardly find a place in the New Testament, both because its several portions appeared as circumstances called for them, and because it was important to avoid all appearance of interfering with vested rights. Now, no questions as to the fixed maintenance of an established ministry could have arisen while the Apostles lived, and prospective claims to the endowments prescribed by Moses would only have given occasion for representing Christian principles as a mere device for spoiling the Jewish priesthood. The general right, however, of a Christian clergy to competent maintenance is established by the

Other facilities for spreading religion, and secular information also, were now generally provided by means of monasteries. Rarely was a prince converted, or awakened to a serious concern for eternity, without signalling his altered state by one or more of these foundations. This munificence was highly beneficial to society. An age of barbarism and insecurity required such cloistered retreats for nurturing, concentrating, and protecting the peaceful luminaries of learning and religion. It was from the convent-gate accordingly that heralds of salvation proceeded to evangelise the country.¹ Undoubtedly, monasteries also found for fanaticism both a nursery and an asylum: within their walls were trained and sheltered ascetic monks, perhaps even more abundantly than active teachers. These latter were however cheaply purchased at the price of moderate encouragement for the former. Religious enthusiasm arises, besides, from a mental unhealthiness, common in every age, and often far from unproductive of real good. A place of refuge, therefore, and regular control, for spirits impatient under sober piety, would frequently render important public service. In earlier portions of the Anglo-Saxon period, such monastic services were unalloyed by any approach towards that extensive system of organisation which eventually became so mischievous. Benedict of Nursia had in-

practice and express permission of Jesus, and by various texts in the Epistles.—ST. MATT. xxvii. 55, 56. *Ib.* x. 9, 10. ST. LUKE, viii. 2, 3. *Ib.* x. 7. *Ib.* xxii. 35. Acts, iv. 37. Gal. vi. 6. Phil. iv. 18. 2 Thess. iii. 9. 1 Cor. ix. 14. 1 Tim. v. 17, 18.

¹ BED. iv. 27. pp. 348, 349.

deed appeared,¹ and Wilfrid seems to have claimed the merit of introducing his regulations into England.² Such introduction must however have been incomplete and partial, for Dunstan was unquestionably the father of British Benedictines.³ Earlier monasteries, therefore, were never even likely to offer facilities for the formation of that powerful confederacy which, in after ages, riveted the chains of papal domination.

That intellectual advance by which Theodore had obliged so deeply his adopted country, was undoubtedly promoted by the prevailing passion for pilgrimages to Rome. Man's natural thirst for novelty and variety intrenched itself under cover of Christian zeal, dignifying impatience of home, and a restless curiosity to visit foreign regions, as a holy anxiety for worshipping on the spots where apostles taught, and their bones repose. Persons of both sexes, accordingly, and of every rank, found religious excuses for journeying to the ancient seat of empire.⁴ There, however, yet lingered a higher civilisation, and more extensive knowledge, than in any other city of western Europe. From constant intercourse, therefore, with a spot so favoured, could hardly fail of flowing considerable improvements in manners, understanding, and information. These benefits, however, were by no means unattended with counter-

¹ Benedict was born in 480, and died in 542 or 543.—CAVE. *Hist. Lit.* Lond. 1688. p. 402.

² MALMESB. de Gest. PP. *Script. post Bed.* f. 151.

³ OSBERN. de Vit. S. Dunst. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 91.

⁴ BED. v. 7. p. 395.

vailing evils: many of the pilgrims proved unequal to their own guidance in common decency, when removed completely away from domestic restraints. Females left their native shores, alleging an uncontrollable impulse of piety. In hardly any city on the way to Rome were not some of these unhappy women living by prostitution: even nuns were among the travelling devotees thus earning the wages of infamy. Serious minds became deeply scandalised by the frequency of such disgraceful spectacles; hence Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, recommended the prohibition of English female pilgrimages, by royal and synodical authority.¹

Of Anglo-Saxons importantly benefitted by intercourse with Rome, no one obtained more credit in his day than Aldhelm, a near kinsman probably to the sovereigns of Wessex.² His education was chiefly conducted by Adrian, the learned friend of Archbishop Theodore, and his proficiency was highly honourable to both parties. Having gained a great literary reputation, he was chosen to write in favour of the Roman Easter, at a conference with the Britons on that much-litigated question: his arguments are said to have made many converts.³ Afterwards he

¹ Epist. Bonif. ad Cuth. Archiep. Cantuar. SPELM. *Conc.* i. 241. WILK. i. 93.

² "Aldelmus Saxonum oriundus prosapia, familia haud dubie nobilissima. Ferunt quidam, incertum unde id assumpserint, fuisse nepotem Inæ regis West-Saxonum ex fratre Kentero."—MALMESB. de Vitâ Aldhelm. Episc. Scireburn. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 2.

³ *Ib.* 15. This work of Aldhelm's appears to have been lost in Malmesbury's time; a deficiency which that author much regrets.

indulged himself in the prevailing pilgrimage to Rome; and a mind like his must have brought home stores of valuable information. Aldhelm was abbot of Malmesbury during a considerable period, and he spent the last four years of his illustrious life in the see of Sherborne. He has the credit of introducing his countrymen to Latin composition, both in prose and verse.¹ In addition to the appearance of such an author at a period little dignified by literature, the subject of his principal work long gained him extensive notice. Ages smitten with admiration of monastic life naturally applauded a genius who sang *the Praise of Virginity*. To later times, however, the muse of Aldhelm has appeared obscure and turgid.

A contemporary scholar has obtained more lasting celebrity. Bede, universally and justly called *the Venerable*, was born in the modern bishopric of Durham, upon an estate belonging to Benedict Biscop's

Its loss, in fact, is to be regretted, because the book, if extant, could hardly fail of throwing considerable light upon other points of difference between the British and Roman churches. There were many such points, for Malmesbury says of the Britons:—*“Suis potius quam Romanis obsecundarent traditionibus. Et plura quidem alia Catholica, sed illud potissimum abnuebant; ne Paschale sacrum legitimo die celebrarent.”* (14.) A more extensive knowledge of *our own British traditions* would not only be very interesting, but also serviceable in refuting various pretensions of the Romanists.

¹ “*Primus ex Anglorum gente erat, juxta Cambdenum, qui Latine scripsit, primusque componendi carminis Latine rationem populares suos docuit.*”—(CAVE. *Hist. Lit.* 466.) Aldhelm was made Abbot of Malmesbury in 671, and chosen Bishop of Sherborne in 705.—*Ib.*

foundations at Wearmouth and Jarrow. In these two monasteries, learning, teaching, and writing, he passed agreeably the whole of his laborious, distinguished, and blameless life, from the age of seven years. His first instructor was the learned Biscop himself, at once founder and abbot, whose noble library proved a treasure from which he never ceased to draw happiness, occupation, and fame. That excellent person, so fortunate in furnishing a study for Bede, lived not, however, to complete his admirable pupil's education. The young scholar then passed under the tuition of Ceolfrid, abbot after Biscop.¹ The times were highly favourable for his proficiency; Theodore and Adrian, the lights of Britain, surviving through his earlier years.² At nineteen he was ordained deacon; at thirty, priest. When free from professional calls and monastic observances, his industry as a divine and general man of letters was inexhaustible. Scripture was his favourite study; but he seems to have explored most eagerly every branch of knowledge within his reach. Sergius, the Roman pontiff, would fain have had the personal assistance of so ripe a scholar upon some unknown emergency:³ but Bede seems to have been untinctured by the prevailing rage for wandering over foreign countries. He remained steadily secluded in his monastery, attesting the diligent employment of his time by a long and rapid succession of literary works. Among these, the theological portions are

¹ BED. de seipso. *Eccl. Hist.* p. 492.

² STUBBS. *X. Script.* col. 1695.

³ MALMESB. de Gest. RR. *Angl. Script. post Bedam*, vi. 11.

little else than selections from the Fathers, especially from St. Austin. Englishmen, however, long considered Bede as their principal divine. The collections, therefore, stamped with his venerable name, form a copious repository of national religious tradition. In this view they are highly valuable, for they supply decisive evidence, in many particulars, against Romish claims to the ancient faith of England. Bede's fame has chiefly rested, in later ages, upon his *Ecclesiastical History*, an invaluable record of interesting events, compiled from ancient monuments, tradition, and personal knowledge.¹ A monastic author in the eighth century could hardly fail of intermingling his narrative with superstitious tales. The venerable monk of Jarrow accordingly presents many such indications of his profession and age. Fastidious moderns have excepted against this apparent credulity of Bede: objections have also been made to his loose and incidental mention of secular affairs; he professed, however, only to preserve the annals of religion. He had, probably, but little taste for investigating the mazes of selfish policy, and chronicling the outrages of licentious violence; he might even think such details unsuitable to the monastic profession, and to a Christian minister. Still he has preserved a great mass of civil information, and he may justly be venerated as the *Father of English History*. Nor is it among the least recommendations of his interesting annals, that in them appear so many traces of Britain's ancient church—

¹ BED. de seipso, *ut supra*.

such gratifying proofs that paganised England was more than half evangelised by the holy zeal of British missionaries. To Rome Bede was indebted for education, religious usages, and a library. She formed all his early prejudices, and filled him through life with grateful partiality. Yet, as a mere historian, it has been his fortune to weaken importantly the pleading of her advocates. On the verge of senility, Bede was attacked with asthma. The disorder became troublesome one year at Easter ; and about dawn, on Ascension-day, he placidly observed his end approaching. When thus anticipating a speedy call to account for talents improved so nobly, he felt anxious to complete a vernacular version of St. John's Gospel.¹ As the sun rose, accordingly, his pupils collecting around, he entreated them to write diligently from his dictation. He was mournfully obeyed until afternoon, when all but one youth left him, to join the procession usual on that day. "A single chapter still remains," the lad remarked ; "dearest master, will it distress you if I ask you to go on with its translation ?" The dying scholar answered, "By no means ; take your pen, but write quickly." As time thus wore away, the venerable translator said, "There are a few pleasing trifles in my desk ; a little pepper, some handkerchiefs, and incense ; run, bring them to me, and call my brother-priests ; I would fain distribute among these friends such little marks of my kind regard as God has given me. Rich men's presents are gold and silver, or other costly things ;

¹ MALMESB. *ut supra*, f. 12.

mine must be recommended by the affectionate pleasure which I feel in bestowing them." The young amanuensis did as he was bidden, and the dim eyes of his admired instructor soon rested upon a circle of weeping friends. "You will see my face no more," Bede said, "on this side of another world. It is time that my spirit should return to him who gave it. My life has been long, and a gracious Providence has made it happy. The time of my dissolution is now at hand: *I have a desire to depart, and to be with Christ.*" Other such pious and affecting language the youth, whose writing had been broken off, thus abruptly terminated: "My dear master, one sentence has not even yet been written." He was answered, "Make haste and write it, then." This done, the sinking teacher said, "*It is finished.* Take my head, and turn my face to the spot where I have been used to pray. *Glory to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*" His lips immediately ceased to move, and every saddened eye now saw that the most illustrious of Europe's luminaries was gone to his reward.¹ Bede's remains were first interred in his beloved monastery of Jarrow; but each revolving

¹ SIM. DUNELM. *Epist. de Transitu Bedæ*. X. *Script.* col. 10. There is some discrepancy as to the exact year of Bede's death; but it most probably took place in 735. He was born in 672. He died, therefore, in what is called the *grand climacteric*. (CAVE. *Hist. Lit.* p. 473.) The origin of *venerable*, affixed to the name of Bede, is not known; but this designation seems ancient; for the second council of Aix-la-Chapelle, holden in 836, citing in its preface his mystical explanation of Solomon's temple, thus describes him: "*Venerabilis et modernis temporibus doctor admirabilis Beda presbyter.*"—*Labb. et Coss.* vii. 1760.

year increasing the splendour of his fame, a grateful posterity demanded a more conspicuous tomb. His bones were accordingly transferred to Durham, and enclosed in the same coffin with those of saintly Cuthbert.¹

Contemporaneous with Bede's death, or nearly so, was the consecration of Egbert to the see of York.² This admirable prelate's father was Eata, cousin to Ceolwulf, the victorious king of Northumbria.³ The military fame, however, of that illustrious prince, proved no security against religious melancholy. He had frequently holden delightful converse with Bede; and, amidst the successful din of arms, he sighed for peaceful piety like his. Following, accordingly, no fewer than seven precedents among Anglo-Saxon kings, he buried his talents for active life under the monotonous austerities of a cloister.⁴ His kinsman Eata had two sons, Eadbert and Egbert: of these, the former was probably educated for the royal dignity; the latter was placed in a monastery during infancy. When a youth, Egbert went to Rome with his brother, and there he was ordained deacon.⁵ After his return home he was chosen to the see of York; and Ceolwulf, who yet filled the throne, de-

¹ STUBBS. *X. Script.* col. 1696.

² *Sax. Chr.* 66. The year 734 is the one mentioned. Bede's death, however, seems to have been deferred until the following year; and there is even reason for believing that Egbert's elevation to York did not occur before the year 743. See GODWIN. *de Præsul.* 656.

³ SIM. DUNELM. *X. Script.* col. 11.

⁴ HUNTINGDON. *Script. post Bedam*, f. 195.

⁵ SIM. DUNELM. *ut supra.*

sired him to accept the complimentary pall,¹ a mark of deference to Rome paid by no one of his predecessors since Paulinus. Egbert, thus invested with a papal recognition of archi-episcopal dignity, became eminent for professional learning, and for a noble patronage of literature. He compiled some useful manuals of ecclesiastical discipline:² he prepared also, for the use of his clergy, a vernacular *Penitential*,³ in which human iniquities are particularised, often with disgusting minuteness, and for every sin is prescribed a corresponding penance. Egbert's judicious munificence led him likewise to shed a lustre on York, by the formation there of an ample library,⁴ always an important benefit, but especially so when literary appliances are scarce and costly. This invaluable prelacy was happily prolonged over more than thirty years,⁵ a monument of superior abilities diligently used, and of ample wealth nobly viewed as an important public trust.

Among the *excerpts* of Egbert, is one prescribing

¹ "Regnante Ceolwulfo atque jubente, primus post Paulinum, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio."—SIM. DUNELM. *ut supra*.

² *Dialogus Egberti de Ecclesiastica Institutione*. (WILK. *Conc.* i. 82.) *Excerptiones D. Egberti*, Ebor. Archiep. *Ib.* i. 101. SPELM. *Conc.* i. 258.

³ WILK. *Conc.* i. 113. At the end of the table of contents of the first book is a paragraph thus translated:—*These capitulars Ecgbyrht, archbishop in Eoforwic, turned from Latin into English, that the unlearned might the more easily understand it.*

⁴ *Epist. Alc. ad Carol. August. ap. MALMESBURY de Gest. PP. Angl. Script. post Bedam.* f. 153.

⁵ Thirty-six years. (MALMESB. *ut supra*.) Simeon of Durham and Stubbs say thirty-two years. There is little or no doubt that Egbert died in 766.

a threefold division of tythes. From the first article in this collection, it appears that considerable progress had been already made in the settlement of a parochial clergy, but that popular eagerness for so great a benefit had outrun a sufficient provision for public worship.¹ Arrangements were probably made, in many cases, for appropriating a rural priest before a church was ready for his ministrations. Bishops might seem to have encouraged such arrangements, by surrendering their own portion of tythes. In Egbert's fifth *Excerpt*, accordingly, no mention is made of this portion. Clergymen are enjoined to expend one portion upon ornaments for their churches, another upon the poor and upon hospitality:² the third was to be their own.³ This injunction, however, is obviously destitute of legal authority: at the most, it can only rank among recommendations in episcopal charges. Egbert's object was to lay before his clergy a code of instructions for their government, chiefly selected from foreign canonists,⁴ and binding, as he thought, upon their

¹ "Let every priest build his own church with all diligence, and preserve the relics of the saints, watching over them by night, and performing divine offices."—JOHNSON'S *Transl. sub ann.* 740.

² Clergymen were, in fact, the innkeepers, as one may say, of those ancient times. Hence the 25th *Excerpt* stands thus in Johnson: "That bishops and priests have an house for the entertainment of strangers not far from the church."

³ Johnson is inclined to question whether this *Excerpt* may not be more modern than Egbert.

⁴ That foreign books were not only used, but also very loosely, appears plainly from the following *Excerpt*, the 7th:—"That all priests pray assiduously for the life and empire of our lord the emperor, and for the health of his sons and daughters." This is

consciences; domestic legislation, therefore, he naturally overlooked.

In Egbert's episcopal city was born Flaccus Albinus, or Alcuin.¹ This eminent genius, illustrious eventually above all contemporary European scholars, received from the archbishop even personal instruc-

evidently a mere transcript from some book written abroad, without even the trouble taken of adaptation for domestic use. Many of the latter *Excerpts* are prefaced by a mention of the quarters which have supplied them. This is not the case, however, with that prescribing the threefold division of tythes; but probably Egbert had in his eye the fifth canon of the first Council of Orleans, holden in 511, which provides: "De oblationibus, vel agris, quos dominus noster rex ecclesiis suo munere conferre dignatus est, vel adhuc non habentibus Deo inspirante contulerit, ipsorum agrorum vel clericorum immunitate concessâ, id esse justissimum definimus, ut in reparationibus ecclesiarum, alimoniis sacerdotum, et pauperum, vel redemptionibus captivorum, quicquid Deus in fructibus dare dignatus fuerit, expendatur." (LABB. et COSS. iv. col. 1405.) It is, however, worthy of remark, that the Fathers at Orleans were very far from contemplating any such abuses as have pauperised and demoralised so extensively the lower classes of modern England. Their sixteenth canon stands thus: "Episcopus pauperibus, vel infirmis, *qui debilitate faciente non possunt suis manibus laborare*, victum et vestitum in quantum possibilitas habuerit, largiatur." (*Ib.* col. 1407.) Such, therefore, as would use the tripartite system to confiscate the generally slender maintenances of clergymen, for the payment of their own able-bodied servants, must not seek authority from the Council of Orleans. Such persons also may fairly be referred to the thirty-seventh canon of the first book of Egbert's Penitential. (WILKINS, i. 123.) From this it might seem, that people paid every tenth *sceat* (about equal to a groat), at Easter for religious purposes. A revival of this practice would probably answer all the calls for which a certain class of anti-quaries would fain make provision from predial tythes alone.

¹ "Vos fragiles infantie meae annos materno fovistis affectu."
—ALCUIN, *Epist. ad Fratres Eboracenses*. *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* iv. 163.

tion; and he was left by him, when dying, in charge of his library.¹ Another trust, at least equally honourable and useful, devolved upon him, in the direction of Egbert's school. The learned and princely metropolitan of Northumbria was thus no less fortunate than Benedict Biscop, in meeting with a Bede. He, too, has the glory of enabling a brilliant luminary to shed extensively some humanising rays over a period of grossness and illiteracy. The fame of Alcuin resounded on every side; and students, however distant, eagerly sought in York that instruction which no other master could supply. His labours, however, were unexpectedly transferred from the ancient city for which they had gained so much celebrity. He had gone to Rome, a suitor for the pall, desired as usual by Eanbald, formerly his pupil, now promoted to the see of York. In his way homeward, passing through Parma, he saw Charlemain, and that enlightened prince immediately became anxious to retain him. The learned Anglo-Saxon, won by a desire so flattering, promised to return, if the king of his native land, and his friend, Eanbald, would admit of his departure. Their permissions gained, Alcuin reappeared before the Frankish conqueror. In that wonder of his day, as in Xenophon, Cæsar, and our

¹ "Laus et gloria Deo, qui dies meos in prosperitate bonâ conservavit, ut in exaltatione filii mei carissimi gauderem, qui laboraret vice meâ in ecclesiâ, ubi ego nutritus et educatus fueram, et præset thesauris sapientiæ, in quibus me magister meus dilectus Egbertus archiepiscopus hæredem reliquit."—*Epist. Alcuini ad Eanbald. Archiep. Ebor.* apud MALMESBURY, de Gest. RR. Angl. *Script. post Bedam*, f. 12. See also *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* ut supra.

own immortal Alfred, the glare of splendid military talents was tempered by the mild lustre of literary taste. Charlemain, accordingly, had no sooner secured the services of Alcuin, than he sought profit from them personally. The potent and victorious chief astonished his rude and imperious officers, by becoming an attentive pupil: listening also to Alcuin's judicious counsel, he rendered monastic foundations, under his control, efficient schools for disseminating useful knowledge. Thus, all his extensive territories felt most beneficially the peaceful influence of a foreign scholar. Charlemain gratefully acknowledged, in grants of conventual dignities, the services thus rendered to his people and himself. But Alcuin pined for home: his humble spirit merely sighed for pious exercises and learned labours, which he would fain have plied amid scenes familiar to his youthful eye. At length he was allowed the pleasure of revisiting his native isle, to negotiate a treaty between Charlemain and the Mercian Offa. The justly-celebrated Frank urged repeatedly his quick return; Alcuin, however, was no less eager to remain, and three years elapsed before he crossed again the sea, to live in splendour, yet in exile. Never afterwards could he gain permission to behold his beloved country: Charlemain even felt impatiently his absence from the court. At last he was gratified by an unwilling license of retirement to his abbey of St. Martin, at Tours, where soon assembled, from every quarter, but especially from England, a crowd of students.¹ On the termination of his religious and

¹ *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* iv. 169, 179.

industrious career, he had attained the summit of literary fame.¹ The far more extended information of later times has, it is true, rendered his works valuable only as evidences and monuments. Long after his own day, however, Alcuin's name shone with a lustre that knew no eclipse, and which it could justly challenge. Nor ought it ever to be forgotten, that his powerful talents, directed to every known branch of learning, his unwearied industry, his holy piety, dispelled importantly the intellectual darkness of a barbarous age.

A zealous missionary, born at Crediton, in Devonshire, acknowledged his intellectual obligations to Rome, by an active and unusual assertion of the papal supremacy. This eminent ecclesiastic, originally named Winifrid, received a monastic education in his own country. When more than thirty, a noble impulse of piety led him to emulate his countryman, Willibrord, in preaching the Gospel among the continental pagans.² Considerable success having waited on his labours in Batavia, he sought allowably the favourite recreation of a pilgrimage to Rome. He was greeted there with most gratifying applause, and sent back to the scenes of his former usefulness with

¹ Alcuin died in 804, at Tours. Hence it is not likely that he should have been the disciple of Bede, deceased in 735, as it has been sometimes said that he was.—CAVE, *Hist. Lit.* 496.

² BED. v. 11. p. 407. Willibrord, after several enterprising journeys with his brother missionaries, returned into Friesland, where his preaching had already been very successful, in 693. He was consecrated afterwards to the see of Utrecht, and he died among the Batavians advanced in age.—MOSHEIM, *Cent.* 7. ch. i. vol. ii. p. 155.

commendatory letters from the pope. In a subsequent visit to the pontifical city, he found his vanity further tempted, being consecrated bishop of the Germans, and distinguished by the name of Boniface.¹ Afterwards he was complimented by the pall, and appointed papal legate. In filling this latter office he displayed all his wonted ardour and activity, even going so far as to procure a synodical submission of Germany to the papal see—an unexpected return for their flattering civilities, highly delightful to the Romans.²

Boniface now seems to have become bent upon lowering the tone of his native country's independence, by winning it over to a similar submission. He was a personal friend of Cuthbert, archbishop of

¹ Boniface passed over into Friesland in 715. He was consecrated bishop by Gregory II. in 723, and made archbishop in 738. In his old age he returned to Friesland, being desirous of ending his days amid a people now relapsing, yet endeared to him by early success. He was, however, murdered there by the barbarous inhabitants in 755. He has been canonised, and commonly designated as the *Apostle of Germany*. His archiepiscopal see was Mentz.—*MOSHEIM, Cent. 8. ch. i. vol. ii. p. 206. CAVE, Hist. Lit. 481.*

² “Decrevimus autem in nostro synodali conventu, et confessi sumus fidem catholicam, et unitatem, et *subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ*, fine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare Sancto Petro, et *vicario ejus velle subjici*, synodum per omnes annos congregare, metropolitanos pallia ab illâ sede quærere, et per omnia præcepta Petri canonicè sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur. Et isti confessioni universi consensimus, et subscripsimus, et ad corpus S. Petri, principis apostolorum direximus; *quod gratulando clerus et pontifex Romanus suscepit.*”—*Epist. Bonifacii, Archiep. Mogunt. ad Cuthb. Archiep. Cantuar. SPELMAN, Conc. i. 237. WILK. i. 91. LABB. et COSS. Conc. vi. col. 1544.*

Canterbury, and to that prelate he transmitted a copy of the canons enacted by his own obsequious synod, together with a letter. In this, like too many religious reformers, he paints the profligacy of those whom he was anxious to convert. An epistle of like import was also addressed by him to Ethelbald, king of the Mercians. From these communications, it is plain enough that the Anglo-Saxons were abundantly tainted by the gross impurities of a barbarous age; nor do ascetic pretensions among them seem frequently to have been much else than a cloak for lasciviousness. Intercourse between the sexes appears to have been most imperfectly regulated by matrimonial ties; and the chastity of nuns was evidently not more inviolable than that of their countrywomen generally.¹ For the formal condemnation of such offensive and pernicious immorality, solemn synodical authority was probably desirable. Cuthbert accordingly procured the meeting of a numerous council at Cloveshoo,² in which the Mercian Ethelbald acted as president.³ Before this assembly, two

¹ “ Et adhuc, quod pejus esset, qui nobis narrant, adjiciunt, quod hoc scelus ignominiae, *maximè cum sanctis monialibus, et sacratis Deo virginibus, per monasterium commissum sit.*”—*Epist. Bonif. ad Æthelbald.* R. SPELM. *Conc.* i. 233. WILK. i. 88.

² “ Cliff, at Hoo, Kent.”—Dr. INGRAM’S *Index to the Sax. Chr.* 433. The *Saxon Chronicle* refers this council to 742, as also do the *Evidences of Christ-church, Canterbury*. Spelman, however, refers it to 747, which is most probably the correct date, being that standing in the preamble to the acts of the council.

³ “ Præsidente eidem concilio Ethelbaldo, rege Merciorum, cum Cuthberto, archiepiscopo Doroberniæ.” (*Evidentiæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. X. Script.* 2209.) The *Saxon Chronicle* merely says that Ethelbald was there, which is also said in the *Preamble*.

admonitory writings of Pope Zachary were read, and then explained in the vernacular tongue:¹ the deliberators abstained, however, from any submission to the Roman see. In several particulars his countrymen indeed consented to follow Boniface; but they patriotically disregarded his example when it would have led them to compromise their dignity as a nation, by professing submission to a foreign ecclesiastical authority.²

The canons of Cloveshoo are, in fact, adapted chiefly for the correction of existing irregularities in morals and discipline. Their general tenor is highly favourable to the Roman church, because they enjoin a strict uniformity with her offices and usages: they establish, however, a strong case of inexpediency against such uniformity, by directing priests to learn the construction of the creed, the Lord's prayer, and

He probably acted as a sort of chairman; but as the business was entirely ecclesiastical, the lead most likely was taken by Cuthbert, the archbishop.

¹ "Malmesbury saith, that this council was opened with the letters of Pope Zachary; but it does not appear what were the contents, if any such were; but by the archbishop's despatch of the canons of this council to Boniface, and not to Zachary, it seems most likely that these were some epistles of Zachary to Boniface; and most probably those congratulating the union of the French bishops to the see of Rome."—INETT. *Hist. Engl. Ch.* 175.

² "The French Benedictine monks ingenuously confess that Boniface was an over-zealous partisan of the Roman pontiff, and attributed more authority to him than was just and fitting. Their words, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 106, are as follow: "*Il exprime son dévouement pour le S. Siège en des termes qui ne sont pas assez proportionés à la dignité du caractère épiscopal.*"—MOSHEIM, *Cent.* viii. ch. i. vol. ii. p. 206, note.

of the offices of baptism, and the mass, for the sake of explaining these forms vernacularly.¹ At that period, Latin probably was far from unintelligible, even among the populace in southern Europe; but all of Teutonic origin, unless travelled or highly educated, must have been utterly unable to receive from it any accurate impression. Thus, it could hardly fail of being deplored by serious and intelligent observers, that ignorant persons, even among the clergy, evidently regarded religious offices rather as powerful charms, than as a reasonable service. It is lamentable, upon many accounts, that experience here was not allowed its natural operation in freeing northern Europe from the pernicious absurdity of a foreign ritual. It was a price rather dear, even for such solid advantages of information and refinement, as naturally flowed from constant intercourse with the ancient capital: it was an extravagant compensation for amusing rambles over Italy, under the sanctimonious guise of pilgrimages.

Another conspicuous evil of Anglo-Saxon deference for papal authority, was the liability to abuse by artful men, inseparable from such a principle. Crafty spirits, though foremost in spurning alien interference when hostile to their own selfishness, would eagerly use it under any temporary difficulty. To such a politician thus embarrassed, England owes the first public encouragement of papal assumptions. Offa, king of the Mercians, won an arduous way to superiority over every domestic impediment and neigh-

¹ *Can. Conc. Cloves*, 10. *SPELM.* i. 248. *WILK.* i. 96.

bouring power, through a remorseless career of sanguinary wars and crimes. Among his victims was the king of Kent, who perished in battle amidst a frightful carnage.¹ This decisive victory, however, failed of satisfying Offa: his vindictive spirit now fastened upon Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, who had negotiated for assistance from abroad, while his unfortunate sovereign was preparing for the fatal conflict:² nor could he rest without making the offending prelate feel the bitterness of his resentment. He determined upon curtailing importantly that extensive jurisdiction which Lambert and his predecessors had hitherto enjoyed, by establishing an archbishopric at Lichfield, in his own dominions: but such arrangements demand an acquiescence, often baffling very powerful sovereigns. Hence Offa turned his eyes to Italy, shrewdly calculating that recognition there would prove effective nearer home. He was duly mindful to give his application pecuniary weight;³ and he thus established a precedent for

¹ *Vita Offæ Secundi.* MATT. PARIS. Ed. Watts. Lond. 1639, p. 16.

² “Ante contracta fœdera, promiserat idem Lambertus Karolo, quod si hostiliter ingressurus Britanniam adveniret, liberum in archiepiscopatum suum introitum inveniret, favorem et adjutorium.”—*Ib.* 21.

³ “Misit igitur ad Papam Adrianum hinc præidentem, cui rex Offa, fuerat propter suam supereminentem sanctitatem amicissimus, nuncios discretos et facundos, honore atque favore condignos, *insuper donativis conferendis præmunitos.* Noverat enim *Rex desideria Romanorum.*” (*Ib.*) “Simul regnum Merciorum archiepiscopatu insignire affectans, epistolis ad Adrianum Papam, et *fortassis muneribus egit*, ut pallio Licetfeldensem episcopum, contra morem veterum efferret.”—MALMESB. de Gest. PP. *Script. post Bedam*, f. 113.

stamping that mercenary character upon Rome, which Englishmen reprobated as her conspicuous infamy, even under the blindest period of their subserviency.¹ The recognition sought in a manner so discerning was not refused, a pall arriving, testifying papal approbation of Offa's wish to seat a metropolitan at Lichfield.²

From the vengeance of this imperious Mercian arose another injurious innovation upon English polity. Since the days of Augustine, no agent bearing a papal commission had ever set his foot on British ground;³ but under a recent exigency, domestic approbation had been sought through Roman influence. Two legates soon appeared to improve the opening thus afforded by a selfish and short-sighted policy. Whether these Italians, Gregory, bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Todi, were invited expressly by Offa, is not known; he received them, however, most courteously,⁴ and they

¹ "Datâ pecuniâ infinitâ, a sede Apostolicâ, quæ nulli deest pecuniam largienti, licentiam impetravit." (MATT. PAR. *Hist. Angl.* p. 155.) "Ut quid ad nos se extendit Romanorum insatiata cupiditas?" (*Ib.* 278.) Matthew Paris affords many similar passages.

² "Rex vester præcellentissimus Offa, suis literis testatus est, ut in id omnium vestrum una voluntas et unanima esset petitio, vel propter vastitatem terrarum vestrarum, et extensionem regni vestri, nec non et aliis quam plurimis causis et utilitatibus. Pro his præcipuè causis honorem Pallii Merciorum episcopo Dominus Adrianus Apostolicus direxit."—*Epist. Leonis III. Papæ ad Kenulphum Regem.* *Angl. Sacr.* i. 460.

³ *Proœmium ad Adrianum Papam I. Conc. Calchuth.* SPELM. i. 293. WILK. i. 146.

⁴ "Cum ingenti gaudio suscepit."—*Ib.* 292.

travelled over England as accredited agents of the papal see. Their mission led to a solemn ratification of the Mercian ecclesiastical arrangements. A council was holden at Calcuith,¹ in the presence of these foreigners, and there Lambert was driven to acquiesce under the mutilation of his archiepiscopal dignity,² Lichfield being placed over all the Mercian suffragans of Canterbury.³ The legates also produced a body of canons, to which the council gave assent. It thus yielded a solemn affirmation to the faith professed in the first six general councils, condemned various heathen practices, and regulated several points of ecclesiastical discipline. From one of these canons it appears, that although tythes were customarily paid, yet such payment was popularly considered a discharge from alms-giving. The legates reprobate this view, enjoining men to surrender not only God's tenth, but also to seek his blessing by

¹ "Challock, or Chalk, in Kent."—Dr. INGRAM's *Index to the Sax. Chr.* The *Saxon Chronicle* writes this place *Cælc-hythe*, and places the council in 785. There is, however, some difference of opinion both as to place and date. Spelman's date is 787.

² "Jambertus in synodo litigiosâ quæ apud Chealchite celebrata est, non modicam suæ parochiæ perdidit portionem."—GERVAS. *Act. PP. Cantuar. X. Script.* col. 1641.

³ "Quorum hæc fuerunt nomina, *Denebertus*, Wigornensis episcopus, *Werenbertus*, Legecestrensis episcopus, *Edulphus*, Sidnacestrensis, *Wlpheardus*, Herefordensis; et episcopi Orientalium Anglorum, *Alheardus*, Elmanensis, *Tidfrid*, Dommucensis."—(MALMESB. *de Gest. RR. Script. post Bedam*, f. 15.) After Offa's death, Canterbury recovered her ancient jurisdiction, Lichfield having been complimented by no more than a single pall. Her archiepiscopal honours ended about the year 800. (WHARTON. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 430.) See also *Bampton Lectures*, p. 175.

charitable gifts out of the nine portions remaining for themselves.¹

When Offa felt his agitated and guilty life wearing fast away, he became, as is common with such men, a superstitious devotee. Some remains of mortality, discovered miraculously, as it was said, at Verulam,² were pronounced the relics of Alban, the British proto-martyr, and a splendid abbey was founded to receive them. Not contented with this royal display of penitence, Offa visited Rome, a suitor for papal approbation upon his extraordinary munificence. Being fully gratified, he settled upon the English college at Rome a penny from every family, not absolutely destitute, within his dominions, excepting tenants under his abbey of St. Alban's.³ From this donation arose the payment of *Rome-scot*, or the *Rome-penny*, afterwards called *Peter-pence*, which continued to be remitted, with occasional interruptions, to the papal treasury, until the Reformation.

But although in Offa's days the national dignity was first impaired by a request of papal recognition for English acts, yet his reign exhibited Italian influence under a most signal and mortifying defeat. A policy deep, indeed, but fatal and infamous, was threatening to paganise the Church of Rome. She

¹ *Conc. Calc. can.* 17. *SPELM.* i. 298. *WILK.* i. 150.

² *MATT. PAR. Vita Offæ II.* p. 26.

³ *Ib.* 29. Offa has been said to have followed here the liberality of Ina, who is the reported grantor of the same contribution from Wessex; but there is no sufficient authority for Ina's grant. — *INETT.* i. 220.

had gloriously ridden superior to all the storms of oriental heresy ; but seduction from the east had been found irresistible, when inviting to defile her purity by a base alliance with Gentile superstition. This glaring departure from Scriptural authority, drew such reproaches from Israelitish and Mahometan revilers, as galled severely, because their seasoning was unpalatable truth. Stung by this just pungency of rebuke, the imperial court of Constantinople ordered images to be removed from churches. It was a wise provision against a temptation found an overmatch for unwary Christians ; but it was unworthily requited by the loss of Italy. The Roman bishop, pandering to their inveterate affection for heathen vanities, encouraged his flock in raising the standard of rebellion. Thus he sowed the seeds that eventually ripened in the sovereignty of his see.¹ This dexterous patronage of a fascinating worship

¹ “ Tum vero Leo tertius imperator, cum apertè invehi in pontificem (GREG. II.) non posset, edictum proponit, ut omnes qui sub imperio Romano essent, sanctorum omnium, martyrum, et angelorum statuas atque imagines e templis abraderent, et auferrent, tollendæ, ut ipse dicebat, idololatriæ causâ : qui vero secus fecisset, eum se pro hoste publico habiturum. Gregorius autem tantæ impietati non modo non obtemperat, verum etiam omnes catholicos admonet ne in tantum errorem timore vel edicto principis ullo modo dilabantur. Quâ cohortatione adeo certè animati sunt Italiæ populi, ut paulum abfuerit, quin sibi alium imperatorem deligerent. Quo minus autem id fieret, autoritate suâ obstare Gregorius annixus est. Ravennæ tamen tanta seditio orta est, cum alii imperatori, alii pontifici obtemperandum dicerent, ut in ipso tumultu Paulus hexarchus cum filio occideretur.”—PLATINA *de Vit. PP.* 87.

was confirmed at Nice, under an artful empress, with a minor son, by synodical authority. Pope Adrian now fain would have won western acquiescence in Italian degeneracy, by transmitting the decrees of this popular synod to Charlemain. The Frankish conqueror communicated them to Offa, by whom they were laid before the Anglo-Saxon clergy : that body pondered them with strong surprise and rising indignation. It is true that England had long sought pleasure and improvement from intercourse with Rome : she had also looked upon the papacy with filial deference ; nor was she any stranger to imitative arts in ornamenting churches. No habit or authority was however powerful enough to make her invest with a sacred character any of those heathen superstitions that she saw with pain yet clinging tenaciously to her ignorant population. The papal court was now therefore placed under cover of a ceremonious reserve : English ecclesiastics affected to overlook its connection with the second Council of Nice : they treated this assembly as merely oriental, and hence made no scruple of pronouncing its decrees a grievous disgrace to Christianity, *the worship of images being that which God's church altogether execrates*. As this language must have sounded in Roman ears very much like an ironical attack, and was in fact no less than an open defiance of papal authority, the Anglo-Saxon divines anxiously desired an advocate, whose powerful pen might repress the ~~visible~~ displeasure of their Italian friends. Alcuin, the most illustrious of contemporary scholars, under-

took this delicate task, and his execution of it excited unqualified admiration.¹ The work produced by him has not been preserved with his venerated name, but it can hardly be any other than the celebrated *Caroline Books*. These were prepared as an authentic declaration of Charlemain's opinions and policy upon the worship of images, and they are among the most valuable monuments that time has spared.

All worship of images is represented in these important *books* as an insidious relic of paganism,² identical even in origin, heathen images at first being merely commemorative, but eventually adored by popular superstition.³ Iconolatry among Christians is accordingly treated as a Satanic⁴ device, by which

¹ For authorities, see *Bampton Lectures*, p. 170. The evidence of England's rejection of the deuterio-Nicene decrees is so decisive, and confirmed so completely by the *Caroline Books*, that it is needless to examine some tales, once current, about Egwin, bishop of Worcester, and a council, said to have been holden in London early in the eighth century, for the establishment of image-worship. Particulars may be seen in *INETT.* i. p. 145.

² "Imaginum usus, qui a gentiliū traditionibus inolevit."—*Opus. Illustriss. Car. Mag.* 1549. p. 253.

³ "Simulacrorum itaque usus exortus est, cum ex desiderio mortuorum quorumlibet virorum fortium, aut regum, aut quarundam urbium conditorum, aut quarumlibet artium inventorum imagines vel effigies ab his qui eos dilexerant conderentur, ut posterorum vel dilectorum dolor haberet aliquod de imaginum contemplatione remedium: sed paulatim hunc errorem persuadentibus dæmonibus ita in posteros inrepsisse, ut quos illi pro solâ nominis memoriâ pingendos censuerant, successores deos existimarent atque colerent, et in his sibi dæmones sacrificare inlectos quosq; miseros percenserent."—*Ib.* 581.

⁴ "Omnium malorum suasor, et e contrario omnium bonorum dissuasor, idcirco homines persuasit creaturas colere, ut eos a Creatore averteret."—*Ib.* 392.

triumphs gained in open field are likely to be lost within the city walls.¹ It is also directly charged with novelty,² and attempts to shelter it under Mo-
ignant-saical commands, for sculptured *cherubim* and the brazen serpent are ~~sufficiently~~ exposed:³ nor are various nice distinctions overlooked, by which discerning advocates fain would obviate objections.⁴ No use indeed whatever is conceded to images, or pictures, in religious worship, beyond mere ornament and commemoration: hence the lighting of tapers, or the burning of incense before them, honours paid to

¹ “Sollicitè ergo præcavendum est, et summâ industriâ procurandum, ne dum quidam nostrorum quasdam res ultra quam ordo exposcit sublimare adfectant, vetustissimi illius et cariosi erroris redivivi illis cineres convalescant, et victoriam quam in campo adepti sunt, intra urbis mœnia perdant.”—*Opus. Illustriss. Car. Mag.* 1549. p. 583.

² “Majores eorum qui eas non adoravêre.”—(*Ib.* 277.) “Quæ non ad adorandum ab antiquis positæ fuerant.”—*Ib.* 610.

³ “Quantum ita sint absurditatis, quantæque dementiæ illi qui his sacratissimis, et summo honore dignis rebus, præcipiente Domino, a legislatore conditis, imagines æquiperare conantes, illarum adorationem his exemplis stabilire moliantur, nec ferrea vox explicare, nec nostri sensus existimatio poterit indagare.”—(*Ib.* 91.) “Nam dum æneus serpens, præcipiente Domino, a Moyse conditus, et in sublimi fuerit, non ut adoraretur positus, sed ut ad tempus ignitorum serpentium virosis obsisteret morsibus, falsè spei ludificatione deluduntur, qui ita se manufactarum imaginum inspectione sanandos arbitrantur.”—*Ib.* 114.

⁴ “Non sunt imagines cruci æquiperandæ, non adorandæ, non colendæ.”—(*Ib.* 248.) “Isti autem quasdam res insensatas adorandas, sive colendas esse absurdissimâ deliberatione percenseant.”—(*Ib.* 360.) “Aliud namque est hominem salutationis officio, et humanitatis obsequio adorando salutare, aliud picturam diversorum colorum fucis conpaginatam, sine gressu, sine voce, vel cæteris sensibus, nescio quo cultu adorare.”—(*Ib.* 67.) “Nec tenuiter quidem adorare.”—*Ib.* 68.

them by a kiss, or a salutation of any kind, are all condemned as unauthorised and superstitious:¹ their utility, however, as monuments and decorations, is fully admitted. Former imperial orders, accordingly, to remove and destroy them are pointedly reprobated.

But although the *Caroline Books*, in their general tenor, are highly favourable to Protestant views of theology, Romanists may gather from them several useful testimonies. Their author's evident anxiety to spare the feelings of his Roman friends, keeps him studiously from collision with any but Oriental names. Allusion to the papal see is very rare, but always,

¹ “Hæc præterea et hujusmodi superstitiones quas se quidam putant ob amorem Dei facere; sicut hi qui ob sanctorum amorem imaginibus luminaria accendunt.” (*Opus. Illustriss. Car. Mag.* 1549. ^{Tp.} p. 117.) “Nunc mentis oculo sollicitè intuendum est, quantum, in supra memoratarum imaginum abolitione vel veneratione, filium error à parentum errore dissentiat. Illi eas mancipavere crepitantibus ignibus: isti honorant odoriferis thymiamatibus.” (*Ib.* 281.) “*Osculor et adoro imagines.* O mira confessio episcopi!” (*Ib.* 329.) “Imagines, quæ rationis expertes sunt, nec salutatione nec adoratione dignæ.” (*Ib.* 228.) These passages are inconsistent with Dr. Lingard's representation, an echo of Baronius (*Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.* Fr. Transl. p. 351.), that the *execration* of England on receiving the deuteronic decrees arose from the mistranslation of a sentence uttered by Constantine, bishop of Cyprus, which makes him say that he adored images as he did the Trinity. That he was so understood in the West is evident from the *Caroline Books* (p. 382); and, most probably, this exaggerated view of his meaning tended to increase the *execration* so embarrassing to well-informed Romanists. But it is evident, sufficiently from our ancient chroniclers, and abundantly from the *Caroline Books*, that no *single* sentiment aroused Anglo-Saxon abhorrence. The truth is, that in Britain, Gaul, and Germany, pictures and images were then looked upon merely as church-furniture; hence no more fit for religious notice of any kind than a bench or a door.—See COLLIER, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 141.

when occurring, profoundly respectful.¹ To relics, and apparently to the cross, outward acts of veneration are allowed, under alleged sanction from antiquity;² this concession, however, is inconsistent with principles advanced elsewhere, forbidding all adoration of senseless things.³ Prayers, masses, and almsgiving for the dead, are also maintained; and the intercession of saints is represented as important.⁴ Still, it does not appear that the author thought omniscience to reside any where but in the Godhead: he renders, therefore, very slender service to the principle of invoking departed spirits. His work, indeed,

¹ “ Sancta Romana Ecclesia cæteris Ecclesiis à Domino præ-lata.” (*Opus. Illustriss. Car. Mag.* 50.) “ Sicut igitur cæteris discipulis apostoli, et apostolis omnibus Petrus eminet: ita nimirum cæteris sedibus apostolicæ, et apostolicis Romana eminere dinoscitur.”—*Ib.* 51.

² “ Honor itaque dignè sanctorum corporibus, reliquiis sive basilicis, exhibetur, et omnipotenti Deo et sanctis ejus manet acceptus.” (*Ib.* 378.) “ Restat ut nos sanctos in eorum corporibus, vel potius reliquiis corporum, seu etiam vestimentis veneremur, juxta antiquorum patrum traditionem.” (*Ib.* 381.) From the whole of the twenty-seventh chapter in the second book, it seems reasonable to infer, that in the author’s time some sort of outward veneration was paid to the cross, and that he approved it. He does not, however, expressly say so, nor from his rhetoric and mysticism can it be affirmed certainly that he meant so.

³ “ Res insensatas contra divinarum scripturarum instituta adorare.”—*Ib.* 340.

⁴ “ Saluberrimus namque à sanctis patribus Ecclesiis traditus usus est pro defunctorum spiritibus Dominum deprecari.” (*Ib.* 278.) “ Nos nostris quietem exposcimus per missarum solennia. Nos nostris secundum ecclesiasticum usum per orationum et elemosynarum instantiam deposcimus veniam.” (*Ib.* 279.) “ Revertantur ad Dominum, et per sanctorum intercessionem ab eo sanitatem se accepturos credant.”—*Ib.* 117.

is chiefly valuable as a decisive testimony upon one important question, as a record of contemporary theological principles, and as an evidence that the passage was very gradual from primitive simplicity to a religion extensively destitute of Scriptural authentication.

Another interesting monument of contemporary theological principles, is the *Penitential* of Egbert. From this work plainly appears, what is also evident from a canon enacted at Cloveshoo, that penances were merely regarded as compensatory medicines for sins.¹ Hence, from ecclesiastics was expected an accurate acquaintance with all the niceties of penitential discipline, as an indispensable professional qualification. Egbert's provision for supplying his illiterate clergy with this information, prescribes penitential medicine for many cases most grossly obscene. Such loathsome pictures reveal a depraved, brutish age; and they could hardly fall under clerical scrutiny without communicating or confirming a taint of impurity. This compilation also reminds us of barbarous times, in the insecurity of life and liability to personal outrage which it strikingly displays: it is however plain, that ecclesiastical authorities were

¹ "How can he preach sound faith, or give a knowledge of the word, or discreetly enjoin penance to others, who has not earnestly bent his mind to these studies? Here you see for what purpose men in this age confessed their sins to the priest, viz. because he alone knew what penance was to be enjoined for every sort and degree of sin, not in order to obtain absolution. Petit's *Collections*, published with Theodore's *Penitential*, are full of proof as to this point."—JOHNSON'S *Collection. Canons at Cloveshoo*, 747.

anxious to stem this torrent of violence. The *Penitential* provides penance even for justifiable homicide,¹ and for false oaths ignorantly taken;² but the murder of a priest or monk is more severely visited than that of another man.³ Such a protection for the clerical order was not perhaps unfair, when its members were the only persons of superior condition likely to be found unarmed. Upon the whole, this system of clerical police is but imperfectly calculated for benefitting public morals, because opportunities are afforded for mitigating the rigour of fasting by psalm-singing and alms-giving.⁴ This latter substitute was naturally very acceptable to wealthy sinners, and such, accordingly, seem even to have given alms in advance as it were of some projected iniquity.⁵

¹ “*If a man slay another in a public fight, or from necessity, where he is defending his lord's property, let him fast forty nights.*” JOHNSON'S *Collection*, b. i. can. 24. WILKINS, i. 120.—*Author's MS. Transl.*

² “*He who is led on to an oath, and knows nothing therein but right, and he so swears with the other men, and afterwards knows that it was false, let him fast three lawful fasts.*”—*Ib.* can. 34. WILK. i. 122.

³ “*Whatever man slays a priest or a monk, that is the bishop's decision, whether he give up weapons and go into a monastery, or he fast seven winters.*”—*Ib.* can. 23. WILK. i. 120.

⁴ “*A man should do penance for capital sins a year or two on bread and water; and for less sins a week or a month. But this is with some men a very difficult thing and painful; wherefore we will teach with what things he may redeem it who cannot keep this fast: that is, he shall with psalm-singing and with alms-deeds, make satisfaction a very long space.*”—*Ib.* can. 2. WILK. i. 115.

⁵ “*Let not alms be given according to the new-invented conceit of men's own will, grown into a custom, dangerous to many,*

Of religious peculiarities incidentally discovered in Egbert's *Penitential*, no one is more striking than Anglo-Saxon reception of that compromise with Jewish prejudices which apostolical authority established early in the Christian era. Our forefathers were enjoined a rigorous abstinence *from blood, and from things strangled*:¹ nor did they disregard Levitical distinctions between the clean and unclean among animals.² They seem to have been taught,

for the making an abatement or commutation of the satisfactory fastings and other expiatory works enjoined to a man by a priest of God. Monsieur Petit observes, that this canon does not condemn the practice of giving alms by way of penance, with a purpose of leaving sin, but giving them in hopes to purchase license to sin." —JOHNSON, *ut supra*.

¹ Acts, xv. 29. This text is cited in the thirty-eighth canon as a reason for the remarkable prohibitions occurring in that canon, and in some of those connected with it. In these, fish is allowed to be eaten, though *met* with dead, as being different from land animals. Honey might not be eaten if the bees killed in it remained a whole night. Fowls, and other animals suffocated in nets, were not to be eaten, even although a hawk should have bitten them. Domestic poultry that had drunk up human blood were not to be eaten until after an interval of three months. A man knowingly eating blood in his food was to fast seven days; any one doing this ignorantly was to fast three days, or sing the Psalter. Such provisions naturally made scrupulous persons uneasy whenever they swallowed blood accidentally. Hence an assurance is given that swallowing one's own blood in spittle incurs no danger. —*Can. 40.* WILK. i. 124.

² Especially the weasel and the mouse were considered unclean. A layman giving to another even water in which one of these animals had been drowned was to fast three nights; a minster-man was to sing three hundred psalms. A large quantity of water in which one of these animals had been drowned was not to be used until sprinkled with holy water. Hare, however, it is expressly said, might be eaten (can. 38); and so, plainly, might swine's flesh

however, nothing decisive, in Egbert's time, upon the value to departed souls of services intended for their benefit by survivors; it is expressly said, that fasting for such purposes is of uncertain efficacy:¹ a declaration rendering it probable, that masses and almsgiving for the dead also occasioned hesitating speculation. It is plain, likewise, that modern Romish purgatorial doctrines were then only in their infancy at furthest. Men are enjoined to confession and penance, lest they should be consigned hereafter to eternal torments.² A divine would hardly have used such language who believed in the sufficiency of confession alone upon earth, and the safety of deferring satisfaction for purgatory.

(can. 40); yet, it might seem from can. 39, the pig was thought to labour under some sort of uncleanness.—WILK. 123, 124. *Levit.* xi. 29.

¹ *He who fasteth for a dead man, it is a consolation to himself, if it helpeth not the dead. God alone wot if his dead are benefitted.*—JOHNSON'S *Collection*, can. 41. WILK. i. 124.

² *It is better to all men that they amend (bete) their sins here than that they should continue in eternal torments.*—B. ii. can. 5. WILK. i. 126.

CHAPTER III.

FROM ALCUIN TO DUNSTAN.

804 — 928.

DARKNESS OF THE AGE SUCCEEDING ALCUIN — COUNCIL OF CELYCHYTH — INCIDENTAL EVIDENCE AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION — SECULAR MONASTERIES — NOTICE OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH — ETHELWULF — HIS DECIMATION — HIS LIBERALITY TO ROME — ALFRED'S VISITS TO ROME — HIS EARLY IGNORANCE OF LETTERS — HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE — HIS CONCEALMENT IN THE ISLE OF ATHELNEY — HIS VICTORY OVER THE DANES — HIS LITERARY WORKS — HIS PHYSICAL INFIRMITIES — HIS ECONOMY OF TIME AND OF MONEY — HIS ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS — HIS TRUNCATED DECALOGUE — HIS RELIGIOUS BELIEF — ERIGENA — ALLEGED PAPAL EXCOMMUNICATION UNDER EDWARD THE ELDER — ATHELSTAN — COUNCIL OF GRATELEY — DOCTRINES.

THE era between Theodore and Alcuin was that of Anglo-Saxon intellectual eminence. Modern times, drawing invidious comparisons, may charge it with ignorance and barbarism : it justly held a very different estimation among contemporaries. The successive appearances of Aldhelm, Bede, Egbert, and Alcuin, bore ample testimony to admiring Europe, that the able monk of Tarsus, and Adrian, his no less gifted friend, had requited nobly their adopted country. The literary fame of ancient England reached its height when Charlemain listened eagerly to Alcuin ; and some of the church's brightest lumi-

naries proudly owned him for a master.¹ He proved, however, the immediate precursor to a dark and stormy night of ignorance. In political institutions his native land soon attained, indeed, a maturity that he had never witnessed. No longer did unceasing struggles for ascendancy, among several petty princes, find only an occasional respite in the general acknowledgment of a *bretwalda*. The eighth and last bearer of that title,² Egbert, king of Wessex, contrived to render its prerogatives hereditary in his family, thus laying the foundations of a national monarchy. But England had already smarted under a ruinous counterpoise to any domestic advantage. Anglo-Saxon cruelty and injustice to the British race were frightfully retaliated by hordes of pirates, issuing from their own ancestral home. A succession of Danish marauders, fired with hope of abundant booty, condemned several generations to a constant sense of insecurity, and the frequent endurance of bitterest suffering. In a country so harassed, every peaceful art necessarily languished, especially literature; both fanaticism and cupidity directing the ferocious Northmen to monasteries, where alone books were stored, and scholars found a home.³

¹ See *Bampton Lectures*, 375, 377.

² *Sax. Chr.* 88. Egbert's pre-eminence is there assigned to the year 827, when, by the conquest of Mercia, he became sovereign, or chief of all England, south of the Humber.

³ "The cruelties exercised by Charlemain against the Pagan Saxons in Nordalbingia had aroused the resentment of their neighbours, and fellow-worshippers of Odin, in Jutland, and the isles of the Danish archipelago. Their wild spirit of adventure, and lust of plunder, were now wrought up to a pitch of frenzy by religious

A period of such absorbing public uneasiness can afford but few materials for ecclesiastical history, though it is obviously favourable to the stealthy progress of religious corruptions. Earlier years of the ninth century are naturally identified in principles with a happier age. A council holden at Celychyth, in 816, under Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of ⁿKenulf, king of Mercia, and his more ^{Kenulf}distinguished laity, makes, however, a slight advance towards Roman innovation. It enjoins, on the consecration of a church, that the saint in whose honour it was built should be commemorated on its walls :¹ but the canon is so obscurely worded as to render it uncertain whether a picture or an inscription was intended; probably the question was designedly left open for individual discretion. Even, however, if a picture were exclusively the object, it is enjoined in a spirit very different from that grovelling superstition and arrogant intolerance which Nice lately

fanaticism. Hence the ravages of the Northmen were directed with peculiar fury against the monasteries and churches in France and England, and against the priests of a religion rendered doubly hateful to them in consequence of the attempts made by the successors of Charlemain in the empire to force it upon them as a badge of national slavery.”—WHEATON’s *History of the Northmen*. Lond. 1831. p. 146.

¹ “Seu etiam præcipimus unicuique episcopo, ut habeat depictum in pariete oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata.” (*Syn. Celych.* cap. 2. SPELM. i. 328. WILK. i. 169.) Johnson thus renders this clause: “And we charge every bishop, that he have it written on the walls of the oratory, or in a table, or also on the altars, to what saints both of them are dedicated.”

saw displayed upon such questions.¹ Deposition had been also there awarded against any bishop who should consecrate a church without relics.² In case, however, these could not readily be gotten, the council of Celychyth expressly sanctioned such a consecration. Under this deficiency, prelates were to deposit the sacramental elements alone in a coffer, ordinarily containing both them and relics.³

Attention has been drawn to this permission, as an incidental testimony against transubstantiation, the great distinctive doctrine of modern Romanism :⁴ nor, indeed, can discerning believers in that principle fail of regretting, at the very least, that an assumed incarnation of the Deity should be denied even a level with relics of the saintly dead. In this canon, however, as in many other ancient authorities alleged against the corporal presence, expressions are employed which qualify the dissatisfaction of Romish minds. The consecrated elements are allowed to be

¹ “ Ei, qui non salutatur *sanctas* imagines, anathema.”—*Conc. Nicæn. II. Actio* 8. LABB. et Coss. vii. 591.

² *Ib.* can. vii. col. 603.

³ “ Postea eucharistia, quæ ab episcopo per idem ministerium consecratur, cum aliis reliquiis, condatur in capsulâ, ac servetur in eadem basilica. Et si alias reliquias intimare non potest, tam hoc maximè proficere potest.”—SPELM. WILK. *ut supra*.

⁴ “ Much less would they have spoken of the holy elements as an inferior sort of relics, and have given them place accordingly, if they had believed that the elements which they appointed to be deposited in a chest among their relics was the same body that was glorified in heaven.” (INETT. *Hist. Engl. Ch.* i. 256.) “ Here the eucharistical symbols are set on a level with the relics of saints, and scarce that neither.”—JOHNSON, *in loc.*

sufficient of themselves, *because they are the body and blood of Christ*. For speaking thus, the synod of Celychyth undoubtedly could plead antiquity. The reason why such precedents abound in early monuments of theology may readily be conjectured : primitive worshippers received the eucharist constantly, even daily. Scoffing and thoughtless observers must have often represented this as a superstitious habit, adopted by a peculiar society, of taking mere bread and wine together. Now, no considerable number of preachers and writers ever seek to correct a prevailing error, without supplying many rhetorical expressions, obviously favourable to misinterpretation in a subsequent age : such a fate has naturally attended speculations upon the holy supper. Believers in transubstantiation would fain establish its title to implicit faith upon many passages of the fathers, and of other ancient ecclesiastical remains : those who deny that doctrine entrench themselves behind plain declarations, the general tenor, and ^{an} ~~the~~ expressive silence of the very ^{an} same monuments. The last proof is little needed by Protestant controversialists, when appealing to Anglo-Saxon evidence. The great eucharistic peculiarity of modern Rome attracted general attention in ante-Norman times ; hence the luminaries of ancient England were called eventually to speak decidedly upon this interesting question, and their voice has inflicted a vital injury upon belief in the corporal presence. Whenever their testimony, therefore, has, as at Celychyth, an aspect of some ambiguity, it may, notwithstanding, be fairly cited to disprove the eucharistic opinions now maintained by Rome.

Another canon¹ brings under observation a point in theological antiquities, little generally understood. Monachism has been for ages an immense organised association, marshalling and controlling certain orders of ecclesiastics and female recluses : it is natural to regard it under the same aspect from the first. Such a view is, however, inaccurate. Many of the earlier monks and nuns were merely the stricter sort of religious professors, identical, substantially, with similar devotees variously designated among Christians. For the reception of such ascetics opulent individuals often opened their houses, assuming themselves the character of abbot or abbess. These lay or secular monasteries² naturally offered considerable impediments to the exercise of ecclesiastical authority ; they were, besides, loudly taxed with immorality. Another objection to them were the claims of their superiors to immunities conferred ordinarily upon monastic foundations. Their enemies, accordingly, represented them as little better than receptacles of hypocritical profligacy, established by crafty proprietors, to escape from the liabilities of other men. Severe as were these representations, and no doubt often unjust, sufficient truth was in them to bring

¹ *Syn. ap. Celych.* can. 8. *SPELM.* i. 329. *WILK.* i. 170.

² These monasteries are thus mentioned (*JOHNSON'S Transl.*) by the council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747 : " It is necessary for bishops to go to the monasteries (if they can be called monasteries, which in these times cannot be in any wise reformed according to the model of Christianity, by reason of the violence of tyrannical covetousness,) which are, we know not how, possessed by secular men, not by divine law, but by presumptuous human invention."—*Conc. Cloves.* can. 5. *SPELM.* i. 247. *WILK.* i. 95.

discredit on the system : hence public opinion powerfully seconded arguments upon the necessity of suppressing religious establishments in private houses : monks and nuns, it was extensively admitted, ought hereafter to reside only in abodes inalienably devoted to them by fixed endowments, and regularly under ecclesiastical discipline. The synod of Celychyth provided for these objects, and thus laid the foundation of that discord upon monastic questions which long agitated England. Among great numbers of ostentatious professors, charges of sanctimonious licentiousness could always be successfully retorted ; advocates for secular monasteries might also plausibly designate objections urged by their opponents as a mere veil for priestly ambition. Thus, when Italian monachism sought public favour, at a later period, it was encountered by inveterate habits of commenting invidiously on monastic pretensions.¹

It may be collected also from one of these canons,²

¹ INETT, *Hist. Engl. Ch.* i. 261.

² “ 5. That none of Scottish extract (*de genere Scottorum*) be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any one’s diocess^e; nor let it be allowed to such an one to touch any thing which belongs to those of the holy order, nor to receive any thing from them in baptism, or in the celebration of the mass, or that they administer the eucharist to the people, because we are not certain how, or by whom, they were ordained. We know how ’tis enjoined in the canons, that no bishop or presbyter invade the parish (*parochiam, i. e. diocess^e*) of another without the bishop’s consent. So much the rather should we refuse to receive the sacred ministrations from other nations, where there is no such order as that of metropolitans, nor any regard paid to other {orders.”) JOHNSON’S *Transl.* SPELM. i. 329. WILK. i. 170.) The last clause is obscure, standing thus : *Cum quibus nullus*

dioces

dioces

that ancient Britain had not yet lost her influence upon the people indebted so largely to her Christian zeal. Europe is often loosely viewed as under papal vassalage, from the period of her conversion down to that of the Reformation. On a closer inspection, however, appear very early traces of the faithful, unconnected with Rome, in most western countries : in England, such professors assume a foremost rank among the national apostles. Nor, although depressed by a long course of unfavourable events, was the Romish party able to look upon them without jealousy, even after more than two centuries from Augustine's arrival. The synod of Celychyth, accordingly, strictly forbids any of the Scottish race to minister in England : uncertainty as to the ordination of such ministers is assigned as the reason for this prohibition, their native country being without metropolitans.¹ This objection would wear the semblance of a reasonable precaution, had any opening been left at Celychyth for verifying the ministerial character of divines from Scotland ; but the prohibition is absolute, as if intended for crushing a rival party. Posterity may store it among evidences against Romish claims to antiquity and universality.

It was fortunate for the progress of papal ascen-

ordo metropolitanis, nec honor aliis habeatur. Johnson reads *metropolitanus*, and supplies *orders* to explain the last word.

¹ " It is well known there was no metropolitan in Scotland till after the middle of the fifteenth century, when St. Andrews was created into an archbishopric. Nay, their bishops had no distinct dioceses before the middle of the eleventh century."—JOHNSON, *in loc.*

dancy, that England had scarcely taken the form of a single state before her sceptre devolved upon a sovereign, called into active life from a cloister, and fitted only for one. Egbert's early prosperity was alloyed in his declining age by domestic disappointment: an elder son preceded him to the tomb,¹ and his later hopes were consequently centred in Ethelwulf, a younger child. One of this prince's instructors was Swithin, bishop of Winchester,² whose name is yet familiar to English tongues, from its proverbial association with rainy summers. By the generations immediately succeeding his own, the memory of this illustrious prelate was profoundly venerated: eagerly did sickly pilgrims crowd around his tomb, and implicitly did they rely upon leaving their maladies behind. This posthumous reputation evidences a high contemporary character; but it is remarkable that admirers, even before the Norman conquest, vainly sought authentic particulars of Swithin's life:³

¹ TURNER, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* i. 486. note. On the authority of an ancient fragment preserved by Leland. Upon no other principle, indeed, is it easy to account for Ethelwulf's monastic education and habits.

² RUDBORNE, *Hist. Max. Wint. Angl. Sacr.* i. 199.

Max.

³ Ðe ne fundon on bocum hu ge biſceop leofoðe on ðýrne worulde ær þan þe he ȝeƿende to Criste. (*Hom. in S. Swith. Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON. JULIUS. E. 7. f. 94.*) *We have not found in books how the bishop lived in this world ere that he departed to Christ.* This omission of Swithin's contemporaries as to his biography, is thus blamed as a mark of their carelessness. Ðæt pær þæra ȝýmeleart þe on life hine cuþon þ hī noldon aƿritan hīr ƿeopc ȝ dnohtnunge þam toƿer-dum mannum ðe hīr mīhte ne cuþon. *It was their carelessness who knew him in life, that they would not write his works and conversation for future men who knew not his excellence. (Ib.)*

his character of saintship is, however, sufficient attestation that his tastes were monastic and Roman. Under such an instructor, Ethelwulf, a prince apparently of peaceful, inactive habits, and of moderate capacity, could hardly fail of imbibing a partiality for monachism and the papacy. So decidedly religious, indeed, was his destination at one time, that, not contented with becoming a monk, he appears to have been also ordained sub-deacon:¹ nay, it has been represented, that he was actually appointed to the see of Winchester.² This, however, wants confirmation, though it is not unlikely that Egbert might have intended him for that see, during the lifetime of his elder brother: but that young man's premature decease raised Ethelwulf to higher prospects, though to such as were, probably, far less congenial to his natural disposition. Instead of the cloister or the mitre, he was urgently taxed for superior qualities, both as a statesman and a soldier.

In such endowments he discovered all that defi-

Again, Elfric ingenuously confesses that Swithin's known claims upon the veneration of posterity rested entirely upon his posthumous fame as a worker of miracles. Nu nær ur hīr hīf cuð gpa gpa we ær cƿædon· butan þ he ƿær bebýrgeð æt hīr bīrceop-ſtole he ƿerƿan þæne cýncan· ⁊ ofer-ƿorht gýððan· oð ðæt hīr ƿundra gerruteloðon hīr gerrælðamib Gode. (*Ib.* f. 95.) Now, his life is not known to us, even as we ere said, but that he was buried at his bishop's see, on the west of the church, and overwrought (enshrined) afterwards, when his wonders manifested his happiness with God.

¹ RUDBORNE, *ut supra*.

² Diceto speaks of Ethelwulf's episcopate as if he did not credit it. "Hic in juventute, *sicut legitur*, fuit episcopus Wintoniæ." (*X. Script.* 450.) Bromton speaks positively. "In primævâ ætate episcopus Wyntoniensis factus fuerat."—*Ib.* 802.

ciency which was naturally to be expected from a peaceful spirit with an ecclesiastical education. Unhappily, this unfitness was more than ordinarily injurious to his native country. Nothing, however, could weaken the force of his religious impressions. An agitated reign, accordingly, made him anxious to secure the favour of heaven by a conspicuous display of piety. The most remarkable instance, perhaps, of this anxiety has been attributed to the advice of St. Swithin, and has been often represented as the charter under which England became legally subject to tythes.¹ This interpretation, however, appearing hardly warranted by the document as now extant, has generally lost ground.² Ethelwulf seems, indeed,

¹ This view is, accordingly, adopted by Hume; and from the popularity of his history passes, probably, among the generality of readers, as indisputable. Had he found, however, in ecclesiastical questions, a call for thought and inquiry, instead of an irresistible temptation to scoff and sneer, it is likely that he would have entertained a different opinion of Ethelwulf's donation. Rudborne attributes this act of Ethelwulf to St. Swithin.—*Hist. Maj. Winton. Angl. Sacr.* i. 200.

² Ingulf of Croyland, William of Malmesbury, and Matthew of Westminster, have recorded this document; but their versions of it do not exactly agree. Their discrepancies are stated by Mr. Turner in a note. (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* i. 494.) The document, after reciting the miseries of Danish invasion, sets forth that the king, with a council of his bishops and chiefs, has granted "some hereditary portion of land to all degrees before possessing it, whether male or female servants of God, serving him, or poor laymen; always the tenth mansion: where that may be the least, then the tenth of all goods." (TURNER'S *Transl.*) *Aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam antea possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive famulis et famulabus Dei, Deo servientibus, sive laicis miseris; semper decimam mansionem: ubi minimum sit, tum decimam par-*

merely to have obtained legislative authority for dedicating to religious uses, free from all secular bur-

tem omnium bonorum. (INGULF, *Script. post Bedam*, 491.) Mr. Turner well observes that “*famulis et famulabus Dei*,” mean usually monks and nuns.”

The recent historian of the *Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth* has thus treated this memorable grant:—“It has been considered as the legislative enactment by which the lands were first subjected to the payment of tythes to the clergy. But the right of the church had already been recognised in the most unequivocal manner; and the grants, many of which are extant, do not afford any voucher for the opinion which Selden erroneously entertained. The general statute expressly points out a decimation of the land by metes and bounds, to be held free from all secular services, exonerated from all tributes to the crown, and from the charges to which, of common right, all lands were subjected, namely, the *fyrd*, the *brycg-bote*, and the *burh-bote*; and this exemption was made to the end that the grantees might sedulously, and without intermission, offer up their prayers for the souls of Ethelwulf, and of those who had concurred in the donation: the land was, therefore, to be held in *frank-almoign*. Proceeding upon his general enactment, Ethelwulf carried his intentions into effect by the specific endowments, which he conferred upon the various churches and their ministers, of lands, which may be termed ecclesiastical benefices, rendering no service except at the altar. By some historians the grant has been construed into an enfranchisement of all the lands which the church then possessed; an interpretation not altogether void of probability; yet, if adopted, we must admit that the exoneration only affected the lands which the church possessed when the decree was made.”—PALGRAVE, i. 159.

“A Frankish *mansus* was the allotment sufficient to maintain a family.”—*Ib.* ii. 448.

The contemporary authority of Asser might lead us to consider, that Ethelwulf's grant was merely one of immunities, and was co-extensive with his dominions. “*Venerabilis rex decimam totius regni sui partem ab omni regali servitio et tributo liberavit.*” (*De Reb. Gest. Alfred.* Oxon. 1722. p. 8.) Ethelwerd, almost a contemporary, is more obscure. “In eodem anno decu-

thens, a tenth of the royal domains.¹ He was then contemplating, probably, an extensive foundation of monasteries, and other pious establishments. Ecclesiastical rights to tythes of produce had been acknowledged as indefeasible long before his time.

The religious King of Wessex appears to have

mavit Athulf rex de omni possessione suâ in partem Domini, et in universo regimine suî principatûs sic constituit." (*Script. post Bedam*, 478.) The *Saxon Chronicle* (Dr. INGRAM'S *Transl.* 94) says, "King Ethelwulf registered (*gebocude booked*) a tenth of his land over all his kingdom, for the honour of God and for his own everlasting salvation." From this it seems reasonable to infer, that he formally surrendered, by means of regular written instruments, a tenth of all the crown lands for pious uses. Such an alienation was not valid without the consent of his *witena-gemot*, and, probably, the act, giving this consent, is the document found in states more or less complete by some of our ancient chroniclers, and yet preserved in their works.

¹ This is distinctly stated by an anonymous annalist of the church of Winchester, printed in the *Monasticon* (i. 32), "Rex Ethulfus, a Româ reversus, totam terram de dominio suo decimavit, et decimam quamq; hidam contulit conventualibus ecclesiis, per regionem." The following is Rudborne's view of this grant: "Ecclesias regni suî ab omni tributo regali liberavit. Decimam *rerum suarum* domino obtulit." (*Angl. Sacr.* i. 202.) Ethelred says of Ethelwulf, "Eleemosynis sanè sic operam dabat, ut totam terram suam pro Christo decimaret, et partem decimam per ecclesias monasteriaque divideret." (*X. Script.* 351.) These words might reasonably lead to a belief that Ethelwulf set apart a tenth of the crown lands as endowments for monasteries, and glebes for parochial churches. Bromton also represents Ethelwulf's donation as consisting in land, not in tythes of produce; but his words might be so taken as to give the grant an appearance strictly eleemosynary. "Iste Rex Ethelwolfus contulit Deo et ecclesiæ sanctæ decimam hidam terræ totius Westsaxiæ, ab omnibus servitiis secularibus liberam et quietam, ad pascendum et vestiendum pauperes debiles et infirmos."—*X. Script.* 802.

made the donation which has attracted so much attention, immediately before he undertook a journey to Rome.¹ During a year's residence in that celebrated city he displayed abundant liberality. The English school there, founded by Ina, had been destroyed by fire in the preceding year. Ethelwulf rebuilt it, and provided for its permanent utility, by renewing or confirming the grant of Peterpence. He gratified, also, the Pope, by splendid presents and a pension of a hundred mancuses. Besides which, he promised two annual sums of the same amount, for supplying with lights the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul.² Before he

¹ Bromton (*ut supra*) places Ethelwulf's Roman journey after his decimation; as also do Asser, Ethelwerd, and the *Saxon Chronicle*. Ingulf, Huntingdon, and others, place the decimation after the journey to Rome. The year 854 is assigned to Ethelwulf's act by the *Saxon Chronicle*, the following year by Asser, and most probably by Ethelwerd; but that author's chronology is marginal.

² ASSER, 13. MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 22. RUDBORNE. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 202. Both Malmesbury and Rudborne state Ethelwulf's benefactions in *marks*. *Mancus* the term used by Asser, however, was the name ordinarily given among the Anglo-Saxons to their gold currency of less value than a pound. Mr. Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 495) coincides in an opinion of older writers that the *mancus*, like the *pound*, was the name of no coin, but only of a certain quantity of uncoined metal. If it were otherwise, indeed, some Saxon gold coins could hardly fail of being yet found. The *mancus* was equal to thirty pennies, each worth a modern threepence; it amounted, therefore, to seven shillings and sixpence of our present money. (*Notes to the Will of King Alfred*. Lond. 1828. p. 31. *De Nummis Saxonum Dissert. præfix. Alfr. M. Vit.* A.D. JOH. SPELMAN. Oxon. 1678.) In a note to this latter work (p. 6) is a citation from the contemporary authority of Anastasius *Bibliothecarius*, detailing Ethelwulf's splendid presents on his visit to Rome.

shewed himself, however, again among his own subjects, he had effectually provided for lessening their admiration of all this pious munificence. On his way through France, he became enamoured of Judith, daughter to Charles the Bald; and his people were disgusted in seeing their sovereign, who left them an elderly widower upon a pilgrimage, return home a bridegroom, with a young and handsome wife. Popular discontent was heightened by Ethelwulf's determination to have Judith crowned, and invested with all the honours of royalty. The Anglo-Saxons had long denied such privileges to the wives of their princes, and an intention to revive them came with a grace peculiarly ill from one who had abandoned a cloister for a throne.¹ The king's absence had given rise to a conspiracy; the uxorious weakness displayed on his return rendered it irresistible; and he was compelled to resign the chief of his dominions to Ethelbald, his eldest son. He survived this humiliating compromise only two years.²

¹ Asser says, that the West-Saxons had been used to deny the wives of their sovereigns a seat on the throne, or any other designation than that of the *king's spouse*. This usage, arising from the gross misconduct of a former queen, Ethelwulf appears to have been peremptory in breaking through, on his marriage with Judith, refusing to hear any expostulation to the contrary. "Juthittam, Karoli regis filiam, quam a patre suo acceperat, juxta se in regali solio, sine aliquâ suorum nobilium controversiâ et odio, usque ad obitum vitæ suæ, contra perversam illius gentis consuetudinem, sedere imperavit." (*De Reb. Gest. Alfr.* 10.) The coronation service used for Judith is still extant.—*SPELM. Alfr. M. Vita.* p. 8. note.

² ASSER, 8, 12. MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 22. The *Saxon Chronicle* says that Ethelwulf reigned eighteen years and a half.

Ethelwulf took with him to Rome his youngest and favourite son, eventually and permanently known as Alfred the Great. The royal child, now seven years old, had already visited Europe's ancient and illustrious capital: his father's fond partiality having sent him thither, with a large and splendid retinue, two years before. Upon this former visit Alfred was welcomed by the Pope with some distinguished compliment; but posterity has found it far from easy to decide exactly upon its nature. Asser, Alfred's personal friend, literally, but rather darkly, states, that Leo, then pontiff, *anointed him for king; and, taking him to himself as a son of his adoption, confirmed him.*¹ The *Saxon Chronicle* here, probably, written by Plegmund,² another of his personal

His death, however, cannot have happened much before the close of 857, and his father Egbert died in 836. His name, meaning *noble aid*, is variously spelt, and often appears in the contracted form of *Athulphus*; it is evidently the *Adolphus* of later times.

¹ "Quo tempore dominus Leo quartus apostolicæ sedi præerat, qui præfatum infantem Alfredum oppido ordinans unxit in regem, et in filium adoptionis sibimet accipiens confirmavit."—ASSER, 7. See also *Bampt. Lect.* 246.

² "The first chronicles were, perhaps, those of Kent, or Wessex; which seem to have been regularly continued, at intervals, by the archbishops of Canterbury, or by their direction, at least, as far as the year 1001, or even 1070; for the Benet MS., which some call the Plegmund MS., ends in the latter year; the rest being in Latin. From internal evidence, indeed, of an indirect nature, there is great reason to presume that Archbishop Plegmund transcribed, or superintended this very copy of the Saxon annals to the year 891, the year in which he came to the see; inserting, both before and after this date, to the time of his death in 923, such additional materials as he was well qualified to furnish from his high station and learning, and the confidential inter-

friends, uses nearly the same words. From such language it is, at least, undeniable, that more than a single compliment was received by the infant Alfred. Nor does it seem hardly less doubtful, that one of the ceremonies by which Leo greeted him was intended as a solemn destination to his country's throne. Kingly power, among the Anglo-Saxons, though strictly confined within a royal *caste*, was not equally limited by primogeniture. Ethelwulf might argue, therefore, that papal sanction would afford authority sufficient for naming his favourite child as the successor to himself. From their acquaintance with such an intention, perhaps, arose the undutiful conduct of his elder sons, and the strong party that espoused their cause.¹ Much posi-

course which he enjoyed in the court of King Alfred. The total omission of his own name, except by another hand, affords indirect evidence of some importance in support of this conjecture."—
DR. INGRAM'S *Preface to the Saxon Chr.* xii.

¹ "Ethelwulf's visit to Rome without having resigned his crown, may have begun the discontent. Two of the preceding sovereigns of Wessex, who had taken this step, Cadwalla and Ina, had first abdicated the throne, though Offa retained it during his journey. But Ethelwulf had been in the church, and had not the warlike character of Offa to impress or satisfy his thanes and earls." (TURNER, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* i. 497.) Asser (8) darkly makes the conspiracy against Ethelwulf to originate in *quádam infamiâ*. The *Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of it, nor does Ethelwerd. Under this dearth of direct information, it may, perhaps, allowably be conjectured, that one cause of Ethelwulf's discredit among his people, was his known partiality to the infant Alfred, to the prejudice of his elder sons. It was, most probably, no secret that the pope had already anointed that favourite child; and it might be represented that his doting father had now sought the consummation of his injustice in taking him personally to the most venerated of spiritual authorities.

tive improvement could hardly be reaped by any child of five years old, or of seven, from foreign travel. But a reminiscence, delightful, though indistinct, must have been permanently established in the mind of an Alfred from two such journeys as his. He could hardly fail, through life, of associating with Rome and the papacy all that was gratifying, venerable, polished, and magnificent. A clue is thus found for understanding a weak and sinful compliance which mortifies a Protestant inquirer into the history of this admirable king. Had any political encroachments upon him been attempted, he was far too wise, firm, and patriotic for enduring them. It is his fate, nevertheless, to fill no unimportant place among Anglo-Saxon builders of that Italian system which gradually undermined scriptural religion, and eventually degraded English policy. Nothing short of some strong seduction, like that of Alfred's early Roman predilections, might seem capable of winning so much piety and wisdom to break down the barrier nobly raised in England against the semi-pagan canons, by which Nice had astonished Western Europe. In this fatal abandonment of a holy cause, his name, however, stands painfully prominent. Posterity is driven to qualify its veneration for his character, by admitting that he must find a place among corruptors of the national religion.

Alfred was born at Wantage, in Berkshire, then a portion of the royal domains, in the year 849. His mother, Osburgh, a person of excellent abilities and conspicuous piety, was daughter to the royal cup-bearer, and descended from a family long pre-

eminent among Anglo-Saxon nobles.¹ This parent it was Alfred's misfortune to lose in infancy; his extraordinary talents, therefore, owed but little to her culture. Nor does any degree of scholarship appear to have entered into the plans of those who directed his earlier education. He was trained in the habits of a sportsman and a warrior;² but his twelfth year overtook him while yet unable to read.³ He had shewn, however, a considerable taste for literature, in his keen attention to the poems commonly recited in the royal presence.⁴ By one of these, beautifully written, his mother-in-law, Judith, who had disgraced herself by an incestuous marriage with his eldest brother,⁵ endeavoured to shame the gross illiteracy of her new connexions. "I will give this," she said, "to that one of you, young people, who shall first learn it by heart." Alfred gazed eagerly upon the manuscript, fascinated particularly by an illuminated capital. "Now, will you really give this?" he asked. Judith declared herself in earnest. Nothing more was needed by the resolute and intelligent boy. He applied himself instantly to learn his letters; nor did he rest until able to repeat accurately the poem that had so happily captivated his eye.⁶ He now found his eager thirst of knowledge met by a mortifying repulse. Reading to any extent, or to much advantage, required a knowledge of Latin. Upon overcoming this new difficulty he soon, accordingly,

¹ ASSER, 4.² *Ib.* 16.³ *Ib.* Asser leaves it even doubtful whether Alfred's illiteracy did not extend beyond his twelfth year.⁴ *Ib.*⁵ *Ib.* 13.⁶ *Ib.*

determined. But instruction was not easily obtained, even by a prince.¹ The taste for learning, and the facilities for its cultivation which England once owed to Theodore, had become extinct under the protracted horrors of Scandinavian piracy. Alfred, however, feeling ignorance insupportable, was impelled by a generous energy to set ordinary obstacles at defiance, and he diligently sought instructors.² How effectually he profited by their aid, his literary labours most nobly testify. These evidences of learned industry are, indeed, sufficient for immortalising any name in a dark and tempestuous age. As the works of an author, unable even to read until fully twelve years old, and who grew into manhood before he had mastered Latin, they claim a distinguished place among victories of the human intellect.

On reaching maturity, Alfred served gloriously and incessantly in the armies of his brothers. Of these, the two eldest, Ethelbald and Ethelbert, reigned concurrently; the latter holding a subordinate authority over Kent, Sussex, and Essex; the portion of his paternal dominions left for their father's administration during his last two years. Both these princes quickly followed Ethelwulf to the tomb; and his third son, Ethered, became head

¹ ASSER, 17.

² Alfred's principal instructors in Latin, were, according to his own account, Plegmund, Asser, Grimbold, and Erigena. (*Preface to GREGORY's Pastoral*. SPELM. *Vit. Alf. M. Append.* 3. p. 197.) He was, probably, not acquainted with one of these four scholars during his youth.

of the royal family.¹ Alfred appears now to have had an opportunity, either of assuming the subordinate eastern sovereignty, or of being recognised as King of Wessex.² He contented himself, however, with a secondary place under Ethered. Rarely, indeed, has a sceptre been less tempting. But Alfred was unable to decline it long; Ethered, like former sons of Ethelwulf, being released early from an uneasy throne. An elder brother had left children,³ whose prior claims Alfred, probably, would have willingly admitted. Any such forbearance was, however, so manifestly unsuitable to a time of urgent difficulty and danger, that these infant claimants were unhesitatingly set aside. The nation would hear of no reluctance in their uncle, now in the very flower of manhood, but called him loudly to the royal dignity.⁴ Alfred's reign opened with a

¹ Ethelbald died in 860, three years after his father. Ethelbert then added to the kingdom of Wessex his former dominion over the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Essex. He governed this united kingdom with considerable success, during six years, and died in the year 866. Ethered succeeded in that year. Mr. Turner calls him Ethelred, as does Malmesbury; and there can be no doubt that this is the correct form of his name. But King Alfred's Will, Asser, the *Saxon Chronicle*, and Ethelwerd, write it *Ethered*, which, probably, comes more nearly to its ordinary pronunciation. It seems to be the *Edridge* or *Etherege* of later times.—*Sax. Chr.* 96, 97. *Script. post Bed.* f. 479. ASSER, 14. 24.

² ASSER, 24.

³ Alfred left estates to Æthelm and Athelwold, each of them designated "my brother's son." Ethelbert appears to have been the father of both.—*King Alfred's Will*, 16, 17.

⁴ Asser (24) says that Alfred began to reign *quasi invitus*. His accession is placed in 871 by Asser and the *Saxon Chronicle*. Mr. Turner adopts this date; but the Editor of *King Alfred's*

serious disaster, undergone at Wilton, where the Danish arms gained a decided victory.¹ Various ill successes followed, which were constantly aggravated by a weak and temporising policy. Thus unfortunate, Alfred naturally became unpopular, and he completed the alienation of his people by haughtiness and tyranny.² His kinsman, St. Neot, rebuked him sharply for these intolerable defects, and foretold their sinister operation on his happiness.³ The youth, even of an Alfred, was, however, proof against unpalatable warnings. The young king of Wessex found himself, accordingly, as little able to gain any mastery over his own impetuous passions, as any respite from the fierce rovers of Scandinavia. At length public affairs were apparently overwhelmed

Will (6) refers Ethered's death to Apr. 23, 872. This is the year to which it is referred by Ingulf. (*Script. post Bed.* 494.) Malmesbury also places Alfred's accession in that year. *Ib.* 23.

¹ ASSER, 25.

² *Ib.* 31. From Alfred's conduct, his friend and biographer, Asser, honestly admits that adversity came upon him *non immeritò*. To the stern severity of his rule, striking testimony is borne by the *Miroir des Justices*, a production of Edward the First's reign, well known among legal antiquaries. Thence we learn that Alfred hanged forty-four judges in one year, for errors and malversations in the exercise of their functions. (*SPELM. Alf. M. Vit.* note, p. 80.) Considerable severity was, no doubt, necessary to overawe a barbarous people, during a season of extraordinary public difficulty; but severity like this was cruel, and must have been grossly unjust in several instances.

³ ASSER, 32. A speech to this effect, attributed to St. Neot, is to be found in a Saxon homily. (*Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON. Vespasian.* D. 14. f. 146.) This homily is printed in Gorham's *History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neots*. Lond. 1824. ii. 257. Part of St. Neot's speech is also given by Mr.

by hopeless ruin, and his lofty spirit was all but broken under a mortifying sense of general desertion. Unable farther to resist aggression, or to rally his own dejected, offended people, he crouched indignantly before the storm, and wholly disappeared from public observation.

His place of retreat was a small thickly wooded spot in Somersetshire, surrounded so completely and extensively by waters and morasses as to be almost inaccessible. In this deep and safe seclusion, the memorable isle of Athelney, he sought shelter and concealment with one of the royal herdsman. By the mistress of his humble refuge he appears to have been unknown: probably, with her husband it was otherwise. The woman's ignorance of his quality may fairly be presumed from that very ancient and fascinating tale, which represents her as expecting him to watch some cakes baking by the fire, and venting angry verse, when she found him to have negligently let them burn. *So, man!* her irritated measures run:

*What? Slack and blind when the cakes want a turn!
You're greedy when they smoke upon the board.*¹

Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* i. 549). Mr. Gorham says of St. Neot, "The precise year of his death is not stated by any ancient authority, and can only be collected from circumstantial evidence: the most probably date is 877. (i. 44.) Mr. Turner places Alfred's retirement in 878.

¹

Heus, homo!

Urere quos cernis panes, gyrare moraris?

Cum nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes?

ASSER. 31.

It has been thought by many that the paragraph which contains

But whatever might have been precisely the circumstances of Alfred's retirement, undoubtedly they were not such as to cut off communication with his confidential friends. Hence he soon organised small but courageous bands of trusty followers, by whom the Danes were severely harassed in a quick succession of such incursions as mocked every calculation. Thus his people's ardour rapidly revived. Vigour, ability, and success, gave an importance to every sally from his lurking-place, which forbade remembrance of his late reverses and unpopularity. When ready for striking the decisive blow, early tradition paints him disguised as a wandering minstrel, and unguardedly admitted into the Danish camp. Its hostile inmates, enchanted by his matchless music, and by the rich profusion of his legendary lore, could not fail of greeting eagerly such a harper wherever

this distich, and the whole story of Alfred with the neatherd's wife is an interpolation. It is not found in the Cotton MS. of Asser; and the printed text of that author would read quite as well without it. The woman's speech, too, being verse, is rather a suspicious circumstance. Mr. Turner, however, appears to consider it genuine (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* i. 561.), influenced probably by finding the tale in the *Homily on St. Neot*. (*Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Vespasian. D.* 14. f. 146.) But this MS. is in a *Normanno-Saxon* hand. The several pieces in it, of course, were transcribed from older MSS. Mr. Gorham conjectures, with considerable probability, that the *Homily on St. Neot* was written about the middle of the eleventh century, and the tale of Alfred and the cakes interpolated from it into Asser.—(*Hist. of Eynesbury and St. Neots.* Suppl. ii. cii. Vol. i. 39.) Against this tale the silence of the *Saxon Chronicle* is also a presumption. In fact, that venerable record might lead us to consider Alfred's condition something less desperate than it has commonly been represented. Ethelwerd likewise has nothing of the tale, nor even Ingulf.

his inquiring eye directed him.¹ Thus he must have entered on the field which saw the crisis of his fate, with such information as a general very rarely can command. It proved an obstinate and sanguinary fight; but Alfred's military skill, admirably seconded by the desperate valour of his troops, at length gladdened him with victory. His brave but baffled foe sought safety within the ramparts of an impregnable fortification. Around its base, Alfred maintained a strict blockade, leaving the consummation of his hopes to privation and alarm. In fourteen days these irresistible auxiliaries proved him to have decided wisely. The Danish army surrendered; agreed to receive baptism, and to settle as a peaceful colony in the eastern counties.² Henceforth Alfred, although never free from apprehensions of invading Northmen, shone uninterruptedly the father of his people, and the glory of his age.

Among proofs of his title to contemporary gratitude and posthumous admiration, few are more conclusive than his literary labours. It is commonly said of professed scholars once embarked in active life, that future opportunities for learned industry are hopeless. Alfred, however, though a soldier and a

¹ INGULF, *Script. post Bed.* 494.

² ASSER, 34. Ethandum, supposed to be Yatton, near Chippenham, was the place of Alfred's decisive victory. The date of it is 878. Alfred himself stood godfather to Godrun, or Guthrum, the Danish chieftain. The Danish colony was to possess the country north of the Thames from its mouth to the mouth of the Lea, thence to the source of that river, thence it was to be bounded by the Watling Street to Bedford, thence the Ouse was to be its boundary to the sea.—SPELM. *Vit. Ælf. M.* 36. note.

statesman from education, office, and stern importunate necessity, yet found ample time for convincing the world that he was a student also. He conceived the noble design of founding a vernacular literature, and by his own personal exertions he realised very considerably that wise and generous intention. No author had thrown so much light upon the national affairs as Bede: but he wrote in Latin. Unwilling that all but scholars should be denied access to the annals of their country, Alfred rendered into Anglo-Saxon the venerable Northumbrian's *Ecclesiastical History*.¹ For dispensing information respecting foreign countries, he translated also the *Geography of Orosius*, with additional matter from other sources.² To diffuse a taste for literary gratification of a higher order, he presented his countrymen with a free version of *Boëthius on the Consolation of Philosophy*,³ a work then highly valued by the few who read. He was not even contented without attempting to remedy the gross illiteracy of his clergy. For their use he became a translator of Pope *Gregory's Pastoral*, a text-book in the apportionment of penance.⁴

¹ Alfred's *Bede* was first published by Whelock, at Cambridge, in 1643, afterwards by Smith, in 1722. It is not a servile translation, some things being omitted in it, and others abridged.

² The *Orosius* was published by Mr. Daines Barrington in 1773. Mr. Turner has given a long and interesting account of this work.—*Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 79.

³ Published by Mr. Rawlinson, in 1698, and again by Mr. Cardale, in 1829. The work contains much not in the original. Mr. Turner has given numerous extracts from it.—ii. 25.

⁴ There are MSS. of this work in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Public Library at Cambridge, and the Library of

Alfred's name has also been inserted among those of scholars who provided ancient England with a Bible in her native tongue.¹ But his versions of Scripture generally did not extend probably beyond such portions as appeared, from time to time, peculiarly suited for his own comfort and instruction.² He seems, however, to have been employed upon a regular translation of the Psalms when overtaken by a summons to eternity.³

He had then only attained his fifty-second year,⁴ an age apparently very insufficient for laying solidly the foundations of national security, legislation, and literature. Alfred, however, accomplished all these

C. C. C. there. It is hardly creditable to England that this work has never been printed.

¹ SPELM. *Vit. Ælf. M.* 167. The authority for this is an ancient *History of Ely*.

² "Hic aut aliter, quamvis dissimili modo, in regiâ potestate Sacræ rudimenta Scripturæ divinitûs instinctus præsumpsit incipere in venerabili Martini solemnitate; quos *flosculos undecunque collectos* à quibuslibet magistris discere, et in corpore unius libelli, mixtim quamvis, sicut hinc suppetebat redigere, usque adeo protelavit, quousque propemodum ad magnitudinem unius psalterii perveniret; quem Enchiridion suum, id est, manualet librum, nominari voluit, eo quod ad manum illum die noctuque solertissimè habeat: in quo non mediocrè, sicut tunc aiebat, habebat solatium."—ASSER, 57.

³ MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 24. There is reason also to believe that Alfred made translations from the *Fables of Æsop*, compiled a book of proverbs, and wrote a treatise on falconry.—(SPELM. *Vit. Ælf. M.* 166. TURNER, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 95, 96.) Some select versions from St. Austin by King Alfred are preserved among the Cotton MSS.

⁴ The *Saxon Chronicle* (124) places Alfred's death in 901, and it is probably a contemporary authority. Other ancient authorities place it a year earlier.

mighty ends. Nor were incessant and sanguinary struggles against piratical invasion the only difficulties that taxed his ingenuity, consumed his time, and wore away his spirits. His towering intellect and indomitable energy were imprisoned in a most unhealthy frame. He seems to have been a sickly and a suffering child. As manhood opened on his view, he became oppressed by a dread of leprosy, or blindness, or some other such conspicuous infirmity, as must drive him hopelessly from the haunts of men. His generous ambition shrank before this mortifying prospect, and earnestly did he desire that no physical affliction should render him unfit for the public eye, and exclude him from active duties. Having once gone into Cornwall with a hunting party, he came near the burial-place of a British saint. His pious mind had ever viewed such spots as hallowed ground, and this was devoutly visited. Long was he prostrate, offering urgently humble suit to Heaven, that an unhappy constitution might not realise his most insupportable apprehensions. On his homeward journey he thought himself relieved; and some real or imaginary change freed him soon after from the fear of becoming politically dead.¹ If his pains, however, lost any portion of their intensity, he found it nothing more than a temporary respite. The gross and prolonged festivity that celebrated his nuptials, effectually doomed him to a life of misery.² His natural infirmities were hopelessly aggravated by that fatal blow; henceforth, he was racked habitually by

¹ ASSER, 40.² *Ib.*

agonising pain, and often thought himself on the verge of dissolution: nor, when intervals of ease allowed him to recruit his strength, could he shake off a horrid apprehension of impending torture.¹ Vainly did he seek the most approved medical advice: the physicians were at a loss even to name his malady.² In this respect, probably, they would have been surpassed by the more skilful and learned practitioners of later times; but it may well be doubted, whether any proficiency in the healing art could have ministered effectual relief to Alfred. His constitution appears to have been radically bad; and internal cancer, or some other such incurable disease, might seem to have thriven, with malignant luxuriance, in a soil that early sickness had most effectually prepared.

A principal secret for benefitting society and attaining eminence, is economy of time. Deeply sensible of this, Alfred provided a specific employment for every coming hour. The natural day he seems to have divided into three equal portions: one of these was reserved for sleep and refreshment, another for public duties, and a third for God's especial service.³ Under this last head were included not

¹ ASSER, 42.

² *Ib.* 40. Alfred appears to have suffered, in early life, under the excrescence called *figus* by surgeons. (*Ib.*) Mr. Turner suggests that the sufferings of Alfred's mature life arose, probably, either from internal cancer, or from some derangement of the biliary functions.—*Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 155. note.

³ MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 24. Asser (65) states that Alfred devoted the *half* of his time to God, but he gives no particulars. His account, therefore, if presented in detail, might be found to differ very little from that of Malmesbury.

only religious exercises, in which no monk was more unsparing and regular than Alfred, but also those literary labours, which he wisely ranked among the most powerful instruments for dispensing heavenly light. His country possessed, however, no other measurement of time than close observation of the sun's progress. This was far too incomplete and unexact for Alfred: hence he caused wax candles to be made of equal weight, and each twelve inches long, every inch being distinctly marked and numbered. Six of these were provided for every twenty-four hours, and by their successive combustion Alfred could ascertain how far the day was gone. Upon this contrivance, however, he quickly found himself unable to rely, unless the air was perfectly serene. It was but rarely so, even in the rude, unglazed apartments of an Anglo-Saxon palace; much less so in a tent: hence arose a new demand on Alfred's ingenuity. He now fitted thin plates of horn into a wooden frame-work, and thus protected his waxen clocks from every blast, while the semi-transparent case enabled him to watch their progress. Posterity may smile to learn that *stable lanterns* are an invention, or an importation, which it owes to the immortal Alfred.¹ It must admire that industry and

¹ Alfred's clock-cases appear to have excited the *wonder* of his rude subjects and associates. Asser thus mentions them (69):—"Quæ itaque laterna *mirabiliter* ex lignis et cornibus, ut ante diximus, facta." Alfred, however, might not have drawn this *wonderful* invention from the unassisted resources of his own genius, but only have refined somewhat upon a convenience that he had seen in Italy, and have applied it to a more dignified use. It

perseverance which could effect so much, when these humble instruments were the best within a king's command for maintaining a strict economy of time.

Alfred was no less liberal and strict in economising money. The rude hospitality of his court was maintained by the royal domains, which were not let to tenants, but merely managed by bailiffs.¹ Our ancient kings were thus the largest farmers in their dominions; and, like other occupiers of land, they drew the necessaries of life directly from the soil: their pecuniary resources must necessarily have been extremely scanty. Of these, however (such was his magnanimous piety), Alfred strictly devoted one-half to religion and learning.² One-fourth of this liberal appropriation was regularly distributed in alms, another fourth was remitted to the monasteries of Athelney and Shaftsbury, founded by himself,³ another was disbursed in promoting education at

appears from Plautus, that horn-lanterns were known to the ancient Romans:—

“ Quo ambulas tu, qui Vulcanum in cornu conclusum geris ? ”

Amphitr. act i. sc. 1, l. 185.

Nor was glass absolutely unattainable in Alfred's time, Benedict Biscop having brought some, long before, to his monastery at Wearmouth. It was however very rare, probably, and expensive: hence, as horn would answer his purpose, Alfred might not think of such costly materials for his lanterns.—SPELM. *Vit. Ælf. M.* 162.

¹ SPELM. *Vit. Ælf. M.* 161.

² ASSER, 66.

³ Athelney was for men, Shaftsbury for women. In the latter, Alfred's own daughter became abbess. Asser says (61), that the monastic profession was then at a very low ebb in England, no particular rule being ordinarily observed with any strictness.

Oxford,¹ and the last was reserved for monastic establishments, either abroad or at home. The remaining half of his revenues Alfred divided into three portions only. Of these, the first paid his officers, the second was expended upon buildings and mechanical arts, the third upon learned foreigners, whom his judicious patriotism anxiously sought for his own ignorant and unpolished country.²

As an ecclesiastical legislator, Alfred appears to have done little more than confirm the sanctions of his more approved predecessors. Having made a digest from the laws of Ina and Offa, kings of Mercia, and from those of Ethelbert, the first Christian sovereign of Kent, he submitted it to his legislature, and obtained a solemn confirmation of it.³ Under him, accordingly, the privilege of sanctuary was again legally recognised, and especial protection was extended to churches and ecclesiastics. His treaty with Godrun, which planted a Danish colony in the

omton
¹ Asser does not mention Oxford, but he mentions only *one* school: *tertiam scholæ, quam ex multis suæ propriæ gentis studiosissimè congregaverat*. Brompton (X. Script. 818), evidently writing with Asser before him, places the *school* at Oxford: *tertiam scholaribus Oxoniæ noviter congregatis*. Oxford's obligations to Alfred are indeed indubitable. The only question is, whether he did not rather restore and augment that venerable seat of learning, than found it. If a paragraph in Asser be genuine (52), the former service was that rendered by the great king of Wessex; but this paragraph is wanting in some of the MSS.; and hence Cambridge men, desirous of denying superior antiquity to the sister university, have pronounced it an interpolation.

² ASSER, 66.

³ Præf. Al. M. ad LL. suas. SPELM. Conc. i. 363. WILK. i. 190.

eastern counties, throws further light upon ecclesiastical affairs. Alfred stipulates in this, for the payment of tythes, *Rome-shot*, *light-shot*, and *plough-alms*, providing by pecuniary fines against disobedience.¹ The two last named of these dues now appear (at least under those particular designations), for the first time among the legislative records of England.² Another testimony is thus borne to the very high antiquity of a payment for the exigencies of public worship, independently of tythes. What private owner of an estate can produce a title for his property, so old by many centuries, as this enlightened monarch's constitutional recognition of the Church's title to a rent-charge upon it for the due celebration of divine offices? It is observable, too, that Alfred's legislation leaves no room for pleading that ecclesiastical dues were ordinarily rendered upon grounds merely religious. Civil penalties protected the clergy in their maintenance,³ the Church in her dues, and Rome in her claims upon every householder's penny.

¹ *LL. sub Alf. et Guth.* SPELM. Conc. i. 377.

² The *light-shot* of Alfred's code may answer, perhaps, to the *church-shot* made payable, under a heavy penalty, by the laws of Ina. The *plough-alms* are thought to have been an offering made to the church, in proportion to the number of plough-lands holden by the payers. This due is not mentioned by name in Alfred's own treaty with Godrun as now extant: we find specified there only tythes, *Rome-fee*, *light-shot*, and "Dei rectitudines aliquas." In the renewal of this treaty, however, under Edward the Elder, *plough-alms* are inserted.—SPELM. i. 392. WILK. i. 293.

³ Of civil penalties guarding the right to tythes, probably no earlier record is known. Such might, however, have been provided by the laws of Offa, to which Alfred appeals, but which are lost.

Alfred's appearance as an ecclesiastical legislator has, however, inflicted a severe wound upon his memory, even with such as can feel the danger of allowing individual selfishness to tamper with religious duty. He prefaces his laws by the Decalogue, and many other sanctions, drawn from the sacred text of Moses; but his Decalogue offers not a trace of the second commandment in its proper situation: a slight hint of it only is thrust down to the tenth place, and this is worded so as to give an iconolater ample room for subterfuge and evasion.¹ Evidently, therefore, Anglo-Saxon divines reprobated no longer the second council of Nice, and Alfred was contented to naturalise among his countrymen its insidious decrees. Rome had, indeed, gained early upon his affections; and the centre of civilisation was but little likely to lose its hold upon such a mind: his venerated relative, also, St. Neot, was smitten so deeply by attachment to that celebrated city, that he journeyed to it no fewer than seven times.² Alfred himself, too, entertained a high regard for relics,³ the superstitious merchandise of Rome. Nor among the compliments that he received, was any one, probably, more acceptable than a fragment of some size, presented by the pope, as a portion of our Saviour's cross.⁴ The whole stream of contemporary theology,

¹ See *Bampton Lectures*, 248.

² ^{He} ~~Se~~ ^H ~~z~~eneorode Rome-burh seofe siðen x̄pe to lofe 7 seinte Petre. (Hom. in S. Neot. *Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON. Vespasian, D. 14. f. 143.*) *He visited Rome-city seven times, in honour of Christ and St. Peter.*

³ ASSER, 41.

⁴ *Ib.* 39.

and his own translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral*, attest sufficiently his belief in the necessity of a strict personal satisfaction for sin. His friend and biographer, Asser, accordingly represents the unpopularity that tried him so severely in early life, as mercifully sent by Providence, to exact a penalty which he must have paid, but which could never fall so lightly as while he continued in the body.¹ It is probable that Alfred's own view is here detailed; and that, reasoning upon this principle, he found some consolation under the wearing intensity of bodily distress. His authority, therefore, might be colourably pleaded, in favour of the penitential doctrines eventually prevailing among schoolmen, and solemnly confirmed at Trent. Alfred, however, in common with other luminaries of his age, only lent an unconscious aid in the foundation of a system, essentially different from their own, and much more seductive. Their penitential doctrines had no reference to that perilous anodyne, technically termed in after ages, sacramental absolution. Hence Anglo-Saxon views of man's reconciliation with his God, although not exactly Protestant, varied importantly from those of modern Rome.² Nor were those extravagant assertions of papal supremacy, which have occasioned so many offensive acts and acrimonious debates among subsequent generations, known to the days of Alfred. Had such been advanced, however, it is far from likely, that any veneration for the papacy would have led him into such concessions as tarnish

¹ ASSER, 32.² See *Bampton Lectures*, Sermon 5. p. 255.

the honour of a nation, and outrage reason. Roman pretensions, when fully before the world, were never admitted by our ablest sovereigns. But English royalty can boast no abler name than that of Alfred. That illustrious prince, it should also be remembered, must have dissented from transubstantiation, the great distinctive feature of modern Romanism. His age first saw eucharistic worshippers invited formally to deny the evidence of sense; and Alfred patronised Erigena, a celebrated opponent of that startling novelty.¹ Plainly untenable, therefore, are Romish claims to the only English sovereign whom posterity has dignified as the *Great*. Alfred lived in a superstitious age, and before many theological questions, afterwards debated fully, had called for critical examination. His belief, therefore, cannot be identified strictly and accurately with that of the modern church of England. He knew nothing, however,

¹ Collier mentions Alfred's remittances to Rome of Peter-pence, by the hands of bishops and other great men; and he mentions the return made by the pope, of an alleged fragment from our Saviour's cross, and of an exemption from taxes to the English school at Rome. He then adds: "But notwithstanding these civilities, we meet with no letters of compliment or submission: we find no learned men sent from Rome to assist the king in his scheme for the revival of arts and sciences; there is no intercourse of legates upon record; no interposings in the councils and regulations of the church; no bulls of privilege for the new abbeys of Winchester and Athelney; and which is more, King Alfred, as we have seen, entertained Johannes Scotus Erigena, and treated him with great regard, notwithstanding the discountenance he lay under at Rome. From all which we may conclude, the correspondence between England and Rome was not very close; and that this prince and the English Church were not servilely governed by that see."—*Eccl. Hist.* i. 171.

of sacramental devices for speaking peace to a conscience, merely attrite; and he denied, in common with all his countrymen, the rising principle of transubstantiation. Now these two doctrines are essential to the Romish belief of later times, and are the main pillars of its hold upon mankind. English Romanists, therefore, are egregiously mistaken in taking credit for the profession of a creed identical with that of Alfred.

Of his most illustrious literary friend, John Scotus Erigena, the birthplace has been disputed. That scholar's ordinary designation, however, which is no other than *John the Irish-born Scot*, renders it hardly doubtful that he was born in Ireland, of the Scottish race long seated there. Many of his earlier years were spent in France, where he stood foremost among learned men. Charles the Bald esteemed him highly, and admitted him to the most familiar intercourse. By that enlightened prince he was desired, together with Ratramn, to examine critically those eucharistic doctrines by which Paschasius Radbert had recently amazed the world. Erigena, like Ratramn, vindicated the evidence of sense, assigning a figurative character to our Lord's words at the last supper.¹ That numerous class which is ever eagerly upon the watch for something new and surprising, was probably very little pleased with scholars, however eminent, thus employed. Radbert's theory was one upon which ephemeral conceit could fix triumphantly as an undoubted discovery of its own improving age; it

¹ See *Bampton Lectures*, 418.

was one, too, which could hardly fail of making a powerful impression upon lovers of mystery and paradox. Erigena seems also to have given offence by some of his writings upon the predestinarian controversy.¹ He gladly, therefore, accepted an invitation from Alfred to pass over into England, and his patron provided for him by a professorship at Oxford. After some stay there he removed to the abbey of Malmesbury, still undertaking the instruction of youth. In this employment Erigena rendered himself hateful to his pupils, who, rushing upon him tumultuously, murdered him with their penknives.² This outrage

¹ CAVE. *Hist. Lit.*, 548. This controversy was excited by Godeschalc, a monk of Orbais, about the middle of the ninth century. (See MOSHEIM. ii. 344.) Collier, after mentioning Alfred's invitation to Erigena as a presumption against England's belief at that time in transubstantiation, thus proceeds, "Cressy seems apprehensive of this inference, and endeavours to fence against it. He affirms, in the first place, from Hoveden, that Scotus had brought himself under a *just infamy* in France, upon the score of his heterodoxy. This imputation made him desire to retreat into England. But in this relation Cressy misrepresents Hoveden; for this historian asserts no more than that Scotus was eclipsed in his reputation, which is no wonder, considering the letter Pope Nicholas wrote to Charles the Bald, to his disadvantage,—where he taxes him with unsound opinions, but without naming any particulars. 'Tis true Hoveden does say he laid under an ill report, but, that this historian thought he deserved it, we have no reason to conclude." (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 165.) Nor, probably, have we any reason to conclude that Erigena had given so much offence by his writings upon the eucharist as by those upon predestination.

² MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 24. SIM. DUNELM. *X. Script.* 149. Fuller, Collier, and Inett, make *penknives* to have been the instruments of Erigena's death. *Graphiis*, however, is the word used by Malmesbury, and Simeon of Durham, a word by

appears to have been provoked by the moroseness of his manners and the sternness of his discipline. In happier times, however, Erigena had been famed for a ready playfulness of wit.¹ But his sportive sallies appear to have been always tinged by satire, and, probably, the most discerning of those who had enjoyed his talent for enlivening society, would have named acerbity of temper among the exciting causes to which they were indebted for amusement. Erigena's violent death long caused him, rather strangely as it seems, to be venerated as a martyr. Berenger, however, effectively obscured his posthumous reputation. By appealing to his work upon the eucharist, he procured its formal condemnation.² Thus, Erigena,

which Du Cange, with every appearance of probability, understands iron *styles* used in writing. Fuller supposes (*Ch. Hist.* 119.) but seemingly with no great reason, that the murder of Erigena is attributable to the rancour of controversy: "Indeed Scotus detested some superstitions of the times, especially about the presence in the Lord's Supper; and I have read that his book, *De Eucharistiâ*, was condemned in the Vercellian Synod for some passages therein by Pope Leo. This makes it suspicious that some hands of more age, and heads of more malice, than schoolboys, might guide the penknives which murdered Scotus, because of his known opposition against some practices and opinions of that ignorant age."

¹ Simeon of Durham has preserved the following specimen of his wit. Sitting one day at table opposite Charles the Bald, and being rather severe upon a nobleman present, the king asked him, "*What is there between a Scot and a sot?*" (*Sot*, Fr. *a fool*.) "*Only this table!*" was Erigena's free and caustic reply.

² At the Council of Vercelli, in 1150. (LABB. et COSS. ix. 1056.) Mosheim (ii. 342) considers Erigena to have been by far the clearest and most powerful of Radbert's opponents, shewing no appearance whatever of any leaning towards a belief in the cor-

whom Alfred valued among writers as a theological authority, has long been condemned by Romanists to wear the brand of heresy.

Under Alfred's son and successor, Edward the Elder, occurred, according to Malmesbury, a very remarkable and successful exercise of papal power. Formosus, the Roman pontiff, we are told, sent an epistle into England, cursing and excommunicating the king with all his people, because the whole of Wessex had been destitute of bishops fully seven years. On receiving this Edward might seem to have convened a synod, and Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, to have presided over it. In that assembly it was determined, we learn, to supply the vacancies and erect three new sees. The primate is then represented as proceeding to Rome with honourable presents, laying the synod's decree before the pope, obtaining his approbation, and consecrating seven bishops in one day.¹

This fulminating epistle came from Formosus, we learn, in the year 904.² That pontiff, however, died in the year 896.³ Undoubtedly he did not rest quietly in his grave. His successor, Stephen, not contented with rescinding his decrees, procured his corpse to be

poreal presence. Perhaps quite so much cannot be safely said of Ratramn, and this may be the reason why Berenger rested so much upon the former author, and why his work has wholly disappeared; nothing less could be expected of any work synodically condemned in the eleventh century. Erigena's extraordinary acuteness, indeed, could hardly fail of leading him into very precise and guarded language.

¹ MALMSB. *Script. post Bed.* 26. ² *Ib.* ³ INETT, i. 297.

disinterred, arraigned before a council, stripped of the pontifical robes, and buried ignominiously among laymen. Nor were the two fingers chiefly used in consecration deemed worthy even of this interment. They were cut off and thrown into the Tyber.¹ These contumelies overtook the body of Formosus in the year 897, and it seems afterwards to have lain undisturbed in its unhonoured grave. Baronius, accordingly, is driven to admit some chronological mistake in Malmesbury's relation; but he is naturally unwilling to forego a case so useful for establishing the ancient exercise of papal authority over England. Hence, he suggests an earlier date by ten years as the proper one for this transaction.² Alfred, however, was then upon the throne, and not Edward the Elder. Two of the vacancies also, said to have drawn down papal excommunication in 904, did not occur until five years afterwards.³ Although, therefore, it may

¹ PLATINA, 114. Boniface VI. is placed by Platina between Formosus I. and Stephen VI. But this intermediate pontiff appears not to have lived a month after his elevation.

² INETT, i. 297.

³ *Viz.* the vacancy made by the death of Denewulf, bishop of Winchester, and that made by the death of Asser, bishop of Sherborne, Alfred's biographer. Denewulf is said to have been the identical neatherd, under whose roof Alfred sought concealment at Athelney. Denewulf's promotion to the see of Winchester, however, took place in 879. It was only in the preceding year when Alfred lay hidden at Athelney. He is said, of course, to have found his host possessed of extraordinary abilities, but still it is any thing rather than credible that Alfred should have considered a man, whom he had known as a neatherd one year, qualified for the see of Winchester in the next.—WHARTON, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 208, 554.

be true that Plegmund consecrated seven bishops in a single day,¹ yet there is no reason for believing the act to have been extorted by any pontiff's malediction. Had such, indeed, been the truth, allusions to it at least would most probably have been found in earlier authorities than Malmesbury. It is, however, likely that a council was really holden for partitioning the western dioceses, as deaths allowed facilities for such a change. Nor is it surprising that subsequent authors, finding a simultaneous effect given to some new arrangement, should have drawn upon their imaginations to make it square exactly with their own prejudices, and the habits which they saw established.

Edward the Elder was succeeded by Athelstan, his eldest son, but illegitimate. He proved a prince who nobly obliterated the stain of discreditable birth. By

¹ Wharton (*ut supra*) expresses himself unwilling to reject the tradition of Plegmund's seven-fold consecration, and therefore he suggests, as the best mode of obviating difficulties, that a council was probably holden in 904, or in the next year, for partitioning the western dioceses, and that its provisions were not carried into execution until 909, when Denewulf and Asser died. The seven consecrations appear to have been for Winchester, Wells, Crediton, Sherborne, St. Petrock's in Bodmin, Dorchester, and Chichester. (*Antiqu. Brit.* 112.) Collier, after mentioning Malmesbury's relation, thus proceeds: "The Register of the Priory of Canterbury speaks much to the same purpose, but with this remarkable addition,—that there was a particular provision made for the Cornishmen to recover them from their errors; for that county, as the Record speaks, *refused to submit to truth, and took no notice of the pope's authority.*" (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 171.) The original words are, *nam antea in quantum potuerunt, veritati resistebant, et non decretis apostolicis obediebant.*—SPELM. i. 388. WILK. i. 200.

his vigour and ability, indeed, he really became monarch of England. In the decisive battle of Brunanburh he crushed the Danish sovereignty, to which Northumbria and the eastern counties had hitherto owned obedience.¹ By taking Exeter from the Welsh he laid securely the foundations of Anglo-Saxon dominion over the western extremity of England.² A reign of so much military activity, and of no long continuance,³ is naturally deficient in materials for ecclesiastical history. Athelstan was, however, a religious prince, and eminent for liberality to monasteries.⁴ Nor was he unmindful of a provision for the ordinary exigencies of piety. In a legislative assembly, holden at Grateley,⁵ it was enacted that tythes should be strictly paid, not only upon the crops, but also upon live stock.⁶ Another account of the decrees passed in this assembly, provides also for the payment of *church-shot*.⁷ In both records is found an injunction to the royal stewards for charging every crown estate with a certain eleemosynary contribution.

¹ The site of this important battle has not been ascertained.—TURNER, *Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 185.

² “Urbem Excestriam Cornwallensibus abstulit, quam turribus, et muro munivit, et quadratis lapidibus.—JOHAN. TINMOUTH, *Historia Aurea. Bibl. Lameth.* MSS. 12. f. 74.

³ Athelstan was chosen king in 925, and he died in 941. (*Sax. Chr.* 139, 145.) Malmesbury places Athelstan's accession in 924, as also does Mr. Turner.

⁴ MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 26.

⁵ The name of this place does not appear in the body of the record, nor is it stated that any other advice was taken than that of Wulfhelm, the archbishop, and the bishops.

⁶ SPELM. *Conc.* i. 396. WILK. i. 205.

⁷ SPELM. *Conc.* i. 402.

These documents likewise provide against violation of churches and profanation of Sunday; and, moreover, for the due management of ordeals. Another constitution of Athelstan's acquaints us with a judicious anxiety, long prevalent, for the general foundation of village churches. We learn from it that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were free from the dangerous injustice of making rank in society a mere matter of *caste*. The dignity of thane, or gentleman, was open to every one possessed of a certain property, and admitted among the royal officers. But then one of such a person's qualifications was a church with a belfry upon his estate.¹ A wealthy aspirant of inferior origin would be careful to prevent any deficiency in this particular from crossing his ambitious views.

As the whole period from the death of Alcuin to that of Athelstan is remarkably deficient in literary monuments, its doctrinal character is necessarily rather a matter of inference than of direct evidence.

¹ SPELM. *Conc.* i. 406. "If a churl thrived so as to have five hides of his own land, a church, and kitchen, a bell-tower, a seat, and an office in the king's court, from that time forward he was esteemed equal in honour to a thane." (JOHNSON'S *Transl.*) "It has been observed that a *Triburg*, that is, ten or more families of freemen, eat together. But it will appear that every thane's, or great man's family, was of itself esteemed a *Triburg* by law, 14 of *Edw. Conf.* 1065; therefore, at that time for a man to have a kitchen for the dressing of his own meat might well be esteemed the mark of a thane. Yet let the Saxonists judge whether we ought not to read *Kynicena Bell-hur*, that is a *Church-steeple* (to distinguish it from a common Bell-tower), instead of *Kitchen, Bell-tower*."—*Ib.* Note.

From Alfred's mutilated decalogue, however, a triumph must have been gained by image-worship. In the train of this insidious usage could hardly fail of following some disposition for invoking angelic and departed spirits. But that practice was not yet established. Alfred's friendship for Erigena, and the decisive testimony borne by a subsequent age against transubstantiation, prove sufficiently that England still continued completely free from the main distinction of modern Romanism.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM DUNSTAN TO THE CONQUEST.

928—1066.

THE MONASTIC SYSTEM—BIRTH OF DUNSTAN—HIS EDUCATION—INTRODUCTION TO COURT—EXPULSION THENCE—DISINCLINATION TO A MONASTIC LIFE—SUBSEQUENT ADOPTION OF ONE—FOUNDATION OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY—THE BENEDICTINES FIRST ESTABLISHED—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF LONDON—ARCHBISHOP ODO—HIS CANONS—ETHELWOLD—EDWY—DUNSTAN'S EXILE—HIS RETURN—HIS ADVANCEMENT TO THE SEE OF CANTERBURY—EDGAR—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF ANDOVER—CIVIL PENALTIES AGAINST THE SUBTRACTION OF TYTHES—OTHER LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS UNDER EDGAR—OPPOSITION TO THE MONASTIC SYSTEM—OSWALD—MONKISH MIRACLES—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF WINCHESTER—OF CALNE—EDWARD THE MARTYR—ETHELRED THE UNREADY—DEATH OF DUNSTAN—HIS INDEPENDENT REPLY TO THE POPE—PRETENDED TRANSFER OF HIS REMAINS TO GLASTONBURY—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF EANHAM—OF HABA—ECCLESIASTICAL DUES—ELFRIC, ASCERTAINED PARTICULARS OF HIS LIFE—HIS WORKS—OBSCURITY OF HIS HISTORY—PROBABLE OUTLINE OF IT—MENTION OF HIS NAME BY MALMESBURY AND OSBERN—APPARENT CAUSE OF THE INJUSTICE DONE TO HIS MEMORY—CANUTE—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF WINCHESTER UNDER HIM—EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—STIGAND—HAROLD'S FOUNDATION FOR SECULAR CANONS—DOCTRINES.

ANGLO-SAXON Ecclesiastical History between Athelstan and the Conquest, is distinctly marked by a controversy that agitated every branch of society. From various and obvious causes, ascetic principles are likely to become popular, at any time, among religious professors. Oriental Christians had early

been smitten with admiration of monkish devotees.¹ By this example of her elder sister, the western Church was readily infected; and the fifth century produced in Benedict, an Italian monk, a monastic patriarch of her own. The system of this eminent recluse had gained extensive celebrity abroad, before England bestowed upon it any great attention. Wilfred, indeed, took credit to himself for introducing it among his countrymen. Even a single Benedictine monastery does not, however, seem to have attested any such importation. England, it is true, was early and abundantly supplied with conventual foundations, liberally endowed. But these were generally rather colleges than regular monasteries. In them were provided accommodation for ordinary clergymen, education for youth, and a home for some few ascetics bound by solemn vows.² Such establishments were obviously unfavourable to the strict discipline of a cloister, and monks had consequently sunk in popular estimation. When Alfred, accordingly, founded his religious house at Athelney, he was driven to seek a motley group of monkish inmates for it from every quarter.³ Scandinavian piracy was assigned as a reason why the Anglo-Saxons possessed

¹ See *Hist. Ref.* ii. 51.

² WHARTON, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 91. "Siquidem a temporibus antiquis, ibidem et episcopus cum clero, et abbas solebat manere cum monachis, qui tamen et ipsi ad curam episcopi familiariter pertinerent."—MARSHAM, *Propyl. Monasticon*.

³ "In quo monasterio diversi generis monachos undique congregavit."—ASSER, 61.

so little taste for monachism.¹ But England, probably, had never offered, in societies exclusively and uniformly ascetic, any sufficient facilities for nurturing such a disposition. The munificence which had consecrated so many spots by religious houses, appears, indeed, usually to have been stimulated by palpable deficiencies of religious instruction. In raising and endowing a *minster*, the vernacular form of *monasterium*, Anglo-Saxon piety had apparently little else in view than a church for ordinary worship, surrounded by a body of clergymen, who might both serve it and itinerate in the neighbourhood. Eventually many of these establishments became monasteries, in the sense affixed to that word by after ages. But one part of the generation, witnessing this change, condemned it as an injustice based upon delusion. The other part, probably, thought not of inquiring into the truth of such a charge. It assumed, unhesitatingly, that an ecclesiastical foundation of any magnitude would most completely answer the pious donor's meaning, in the hands of professed ascetics, regularly bound to certain mortifications. Innovations upon established usage and

¹ " Per multa retroacta annorum curricula monasticæ vitæ desiderium ab illâ totâ gente, nec non a multis aliis gentibus funditus desiderat; quamvis perplurima adhuc monasteria in illâ regione constructa permaneant: nullo tamen regulam illius vitæ ordinabiliter tenente (nescio quare), aut pro alienigenarum infestationibus, quæ sæpissime terrâ marique hostiliter irrumpunt, aut etiam pro nimîâ illius gentis in omni genere divitiarum abundantîâ, propter quam multo magis id genus despectæ monasticæ vitæ fieri existimo."—ASSER, 61.

vested interests, require, however, time and perseverance. A complete monastic triumph was accordingly delayed until after the Norman Conquest.¹

It was one celebrated individual, from whose talents, energy, and address, arose the Benedictine struggle for ascendancy. Dunstan was born, we learn upon contemporary authority, in the reign of Athelstan;² but this seems hardly reconcilable with his early prominence. Hence his birth has been referred to the very year of Athelstan's accession. Probably even this date is posterior to the event. Dunstan's father was named Herstan; his mother, Kynedrid. They held a high rank among the nobility of Wessex, and lived near Glastonbury. Such a residence was remarkably calculated for making a powerful and permanent impression upon the expanding mind of an intelligent and imaginative child. Glastonbury drew a character of solemn and pictu-

¹ W. Thorn informs us, that the secular canons were not expelled from the cathedral church of Canterbury until the year 1005. (*X. Script.* 1780.) Nor did this expulsion, then, meet with a ready acquiescence. On the contrary, the intrusive monks were not firmly established in possession until the primacy of Lanfranc. —INETT, i. 329.

² “Hujus (Æthelst.) imperii temporibus oritur puer strenuus in West-Saxonum finibus, cui pater Heorstanus, mater verò Cynethrith vocitatur.” (*Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Cleopatra. B. 13. f. 60.*) Osbern softens these names into Herstan and Kynedrida. He also places Dunstan's birth in the first year of Athelstan. (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 90.) This year is not certainly fixed, but it can hardly be earlier than 924. Even this date, however, would only make Dunstan seventeen at Athelstan's death. Hence Wharton conjectures that he was born towards the close of Edward the Elder's reign.—*Angl. Sacr.* iii. 116. Note.

resque seclusion from the fishy waters that guarded its approach on every side. The most venerable tradition had marked it as a holy isle. It was now a royal domain;¹ it possessed a church erected long before the Saxon conversion;² its established sanctity was attested strikingly by Irish pilgrims, to whom its facilities for study and religion were doubly grateful, because tradition marked it as their own Patrick's burial-place.³ The ancient Cimbric race, yet lingering, probably, throughout the west of England, and sole inhabitants of Cornwall, looked upon the glassy isle with profound respect. It seems to have been honoured as the cradle of their ancient church;⁴ and Arthur, the most glorious of their warriors, was eventually found entombed within its hallowed boundaries.⁵ The fame of Glastonbury

¹ "Erat autem quædam *regalis* in confinio ejusdem præfati viri (Heorstan.) *insula*, antiquorum vicinorum vocabulo Glestonia nuncupata." (*Cleop.* B. 13. f. 31.) "Glastonia, regalibus stipendiis addicta."—OSBERN, 91.

² See *Introduction*.

³ "Maximè ob beati Patricii senioris honorem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur."—*Cleop.* B. 13. f. 63.

⁴ "Quatenus ecclesia Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, et perpetuæ Virginis Mariæ, sicut in regno Britanniae est prima, et fons et origo totius religionis." (*Carta Inæ*, R. *Monast.* i. 13.) To many of these charters, claiming very high antiquity, but little credit is due. They are, however, likely to embody some ancient traditions. Probability is given to this tradition from the interment of Arthur, and from the veneration for Glastonbury that was so widely and deeply spread. Hence we may reasonably conjecture that the Isle of Avalon contained the earliest British establishment for the accommodation of Christian ministers.

⁵ After the burning of the church, in 1184, Henry de Sully, then abbot, was recommended to search for the remains of Arthur

depended, however, chiefly on tradition. Of any monastery existing there in British times, few traces had survived. Pious and well-informed minds, dwelling on the ancient sanctity of Avalon, must have regretted such desecration. English intercourse with foreigners was highly favourable to this cast of thought. Fleury had gained a splendid reputation as the main seat and seminary of Benedictine discipline. Hence that boast of Gaul was now the talk and envy of religious Europe. Prepared, not improbably, by hearing occasional conversations upon Fleury, Dunstan was taken by his father to spend a night at Glastonbury. The senior's principal object in this visit, appears to have been the satisfaction of offering up his prayers on a spot so highly famed for sanctity. There can be no doubt, however, that Herstan was mindful of drawing his interesting boy's attention to the various claims upon popular veneration that Avalon possessed. A mental eye, acquainted with the kindling imagination of thought-ful childhood, will readily discern young Dunstan's eager and delighted survey of the ancient church—the still solitude around—the devotees from distant Ireland. Impressions, deeply made in the early spring of life, are prolific in visions awaiting manhood for accomplishment. Of such delightful dreams Dunstan felt the full enjoyment on retiring for the

between two stone pillars, ornamented with carved work. At a great depth was found a coffin, containing bones and a leaden cross, the latter thus inscribed: *Hic jacet sepultus inclitus Rex Arthurus in insulâ Avalloniâ*. The cross was afterwards preserved in the treasury.—USSER, *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* 62. 272.

night. His muscular energies were firmly locked in sleep: but an imagination highly excited, and a mind teeming with projects for the future, defied the influence of bodily fatigue. Before him rose an aged figure, clothed in white, who led him, majestically, about the very spots that had absorbed his interest while awake. They were not now, however, mere open spaces, with here and there, perhaps, a remnant of hoar antiquity. A splendid monastic pile lent them the dignity for which they had long seemed to call. Partial credulity was fain to represent the spacious erections, then captivating the sleeping boy, as the very prototypes of those which his influence eventually raised.¹ But the dreams, even of adult, informed, and accurate minds, are usually wanting in precision. The crude conceptions of a slumbering child, however highly gifted with imagination, must necessarily be confused, indistinct, and, in detail, impracticable.

Dunstan's early predilections for Glastonbury were confirmed by his education there. The pilgrims who sought Avalon from Ireland, finding no establishment, were wholly thrown upon their own resources, and tuition was their ordinary refuge.² Among this band of learned strangers Herstan selected an instructor for his intellectual boy. As the

¹ "Eo scilicet ordine quo nunc statuta referuntur fore demonstrantem." — *Cleop.* B. 13. f. 61.

² "Cum ergo hi tales viri talibus de causis Glastoniam venissent, nec tamen quicquid sibi necessarium erat sufficientissimè in loco reperissent, suscipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos.—OSBERN, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 92.

youthful student advanced in age, he rapidly realised the promise of his infancy, leaving the proficiency of every equal very far behind. But no talent will become thus effective without close application : Dunstan's thirst of knowledge seems, accordingly, to have undermined his health. A violent fever seized him, and delirious transports, of long continuance, overclouded the hopes of his dotting parents with anguish and despair. As a last resort, they sought assistance from a female, famed for skill in medicine. Under her treatment Dunstan's illness became daily more alarming, and at length he sank upon his couch, to all appearance dead. As such, indeed, he seems to have been abandoned. He was, however, only labouring under complete exhaustion. Hence his bodily energies, after a short interval, were sufficiently recruited. He then sprang from the bed, seized a club, accidentally at hand, and rushed wildly into the fields, driven onwards by the fancied baying of savage hounds, that morbidly tingled in his ears. He long fled in horror before this imaginary chase, alike regardless of hill and dale. But as the sun declined, his frenzy felt again the sedative influence of lassitude. Half unconsciously, perhaps, he then turned his weary steps toward Glastonbury, and reached its venerable fane.¹

¹ This incident is cautiously introduced by *ut ferunt*, in the contemporary life of Dunstan. It is, however, far from improbable ; and its age, accordingly, appeared a sufficient warrant for its insertion. All these very natural particulars of Dunstan's illness are most absurdly exaggerated, and, indeed, caricatured by Osbern, who has made them vehicles for introducing what he,

A new panic seems now to have assailed him, which summoned up every energy once more. He placed his foot in some steps provided for workmen employed on a repair, mounted to the church's roof, and paced madly to and fro along its dangerous height. After a time his eye rested upon an aperture, and through it he pushed his way. It led into the church, though by a dangerous descent. Nothing could, however, stop his heedless frenzy; and he came safely down. He now found two guards fast asleep. Without making any noise he lay down between them, and sank exhausted into a most refreshing slumber. When morning broke, the men were astonished on finding their companion, especially when they thought upon the peril that he must have undergone to reach them.¹ Dunstan's disorder was now spent. Yesterday's excitement and fatigue having, eventually, plunged him in a sound and healthy sleep, had purged his morbid energies away. He remained master of himself, and youth soon repaired all the ravages of his late disease. A warning, however, so severe, could not fail of making a permanent impression on a mind like Dunstan's. Nor was the general character of his malady such as to leave him without augmented veneration for the isle of Avalon.

probably, considered a very pious and sublime machinery of angels and devils. An opportunity of thus comparing more modern representations with their ancient originals, is interesting and important. It tends to shew that Romish peculiarities, deemed objectionable by Protestants, are not the most ancient parts of the system, but that, in fact, antiquity is much more completely on the anti-papal side than superficial observers imagine.

¹ *Cleop.* B. 13. f. 62.

His pious disposition and studious habits naturally inclined him to the sacred profession. He was, accordingly, tonsured, and admitted into inferior orders, with the full approbation of his parents. He then retired to his favourite Glastonbury, and led the life of a religious recluse.¹ His mind, however, was too energetic, and his talents too versatile, for the mere monotony of ascetic observances. Hence he not only continued a diligent and multifarious reader, but also he relieved the severity of intellectual exertion by application to music and mechanics.² In both he soon excelled. His mastery over the harp attracted general admiration, and the fame of his mechanical skill yet survives in some of those tales that monkish credulity eventually circulated as an honour to his memory, and which are so ludicrous as to defy popular oblivion.

An individual so highly recommended by virtue, ability, and attainments, will generally make his way to the abodes of greatness, even from a humble rank; but Dunstan had no such obstacle to surmount. His family was noble, and his paternal uncle was Athelm, Archbishop of Canterbury. By this prelate he was introduced to Athelstan,³ and that monarch soon treated him with unequivocal partiality. This flattering success appears to have

¹ *Cleop.* B. 13. 62. OSBERN, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 93. MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 145.

² *Cleop.* B. 13. 63. OSBERN, *ut supra.* GERVAS, *X. Script.* 1646.

³ OSBERN, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 94. MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 114. GERVAS, *X. Script.* 1646. BROMPT. *Ib.* 837.

altered his views. He had always been ambitious: most men are so, especially the young, and those who are conscious of commanding intellect. Dunstan's ambition, probably, had hitherto led him to calculate upon naturalising among his countrymen a system of monachism like that attracting so much notice and applause at Fleury. New hopes and new designs, however, were awakened by his success at court, and he began to build the airy castles of secular distinction. As usual, also, in youth, his mind became susceptible of female blandishment, and of a regard for personal appearance. The jealousy that so often embitters relationship brought all these delightful visions to a violent and sudden termination. It was represented to his royal patron that the youthful student's piety had been grossly over-rated; much of his time being really spent over the pernicious vanities of exploded heathenism, from which he sought a proficiency in magic.¹ Dunstan's mechanical genius had given, probably, some colour to this ridiculous charge, in the estimation of ignorant minds, and Athelstan was not proof against it. He was induced, accordingly, though with difficulty, to desire his young friend's retirement from court. Dunstan's enemies could not rest satisfied with mortifying him by this galling disappointment. As he mournfully bent his course away from the scene of greatness that had lately smiled so bewitchingly upon him, they overtook him in all the wanton insolence

¹ “ Dicentes eum ex libris salutaribus et viris peritis non salutis animæ profutura, sed avitæ gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina, et histriarum colere incantationes.”—*Cleop.* B. 13. 63.

of savage triumph, bound him hand and foot, and kicked him prostrate into a fetid, miry marsh. This inexcusable violence may have been provoked by the sufferer's haughty, overbearing temper; and his assailants, probably, defended their barbarous revenge by representing it as treatment quite good enough for a confederate with infernal powers. On the departure of his persecutors, Dunstan struggled from the noisome fen, and made for the residence of a neighbouring friend. Blackened, however, with mud, and drenched with wet, his appearance was hardly human; and the fierce dogs that watched around the gate, shewed a strong determination to deny him entrance. A manner, at once kind and firm, having overcome their opposition, Dunstan found his way within the mansion, told his tale, and was hospitably received.¹

Soon afterwards he visited one of his relations, Elphege the Bald, bishop of Winchester. That prelate appears to have been deeply smitten with admiration of monachism,² and he earnestly exhorted his youthful kinsman to consider late disappointments as a warning to adopt finally that monastic life which he had so happily begun at Glastonbury. But Dunstan's hope of courtly advancement, though severely checked, was far from extinguished. When Elphege, accordingly, painted the magnanimity of burying worldly ambition amid the austerities of a cloister, and the immortal rewards awaiting such a sacrifice, the impatient listener answered, "Much

¹ *Cleop.* 64.

² *MALMESB. Script. post Bed.* 138.

greater self-denial is displayed by him who wears life away, professedly a secular, but careful to practise all the virtues of a monk. The habit once taken, a man has renounced his liberty; and future strictness of deportment flows not so much from choice as from necessity." Vainly did Elphege argue against the plain sense of this reply, and entreat of Dunstan to ponder the difficulty of escaping the fatal snares of concupiscence, unless completely removed from temptation.¹ His youthful relative heard all this eloquence in vain. He was violently in love, and his imagination wandered over delightful scenes of connubial bliss. He seems even to have found the monastic dress repulsive;² viewing it, probably, as at once the livery of odious celibacy, and a defiance to that eye for exterior grace which females usually possess. Dunstan's ancient biographer is wholly at a loss to explain this anxiety for marriage, and such aversion for the cloister, without attributing them to the temporary ascendancy of Satan. He soon has, however, the satisfaction of relating his hero's complete victory over this anti-monastic feeling. The disappointed courtier again fell dangerously sick, and his spirits were completely broken. As the fever left

¹ OSBERN, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 95.

² "Primum enim mulierum illi injecit amorem, (*diabolus sc.*) quo per familiares earum amplexus mundanis oblectamentis frueretur. Interea propinquus ipsius Ælfheagus, cognomine Calvus, præsul quoque fidelis petitionibus multus et spiritualibus monitis eum rogavit ut fieret monachus. Quod ille instinctu præfati fraudatoris renunciâns, maluit sponsare juvenculam, cujus cotidie blanditiis foveretur, quam more monachorum bidentinis indui pannis.—*Cleop.* B. 13. 65.

him, he bade farewell to love, and hastily acquainted Elphege with his fixed intention to become a monk.¹ The prelate was delighted; and, after a short interval, ordained him priest.² The monkish habit he seems to have taken at Fleury,³ then so famed among aspirants after monastic sanctity, and even revered as the spot in which the bones of Benedict himself had, by some very questionable management, found a resting-place.⁴

Dunstan's high connexions and qualities of unquestionable value, easily procured him again admittance into the royal palace. Athelstan, however, was dead, and his brother Edmund had ascended his throne. To this young prince the illustrious Benedictine appears to have been appointed chaplain.⁵ The current of his ambition was now completely changed. Henceforth it flowed steadily along the channel provided for it by early predilections. Edmund was induced to build and endow a regular

¹ *Cleop.* 13. 65.

² MALMESE. *Script. post Bed.* 138.

³ INGULPH. *Ib.* 496.

⁴ EADMER, de Vitâ S. Osw. Archiep. Ebor. (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 194.) "Cum in castro Cassino vasta solitudo existeret, corpus S. Benedicti ab Agilulfo monacho inde delatum est in cœnobium Floriacense, a Leopoldo abbate, nuper fundatum in Aurelianensi territorio." Of this *furtive* deed, however, as a pope justly styled it, Agilulfus was found to have been guiltless. In 1066, Benedict's bones were discovered in their original grave.—*Propyl. Monasticon.*

⁵ "Rex autem Edmundus Dunstano sancto, *hinc presbytero suo*, monasterium Glasconie tunc in desolatione a paucis clericis occupatum, cum omnibus pertinentiis contulit restaurandum."—INGULPH. *Script. post Bed.* 496.

monastery at Glastonbury, under the superintendence of his gifted chaplain. Thus the visions of Dunstan's youth were realised. Monastic piles rose from the very soil on which the teeming imagination of his infancy had painted them. Around himself as a superior, was assembled a community of monks, emulating the regularity of Fleury. This was the first establishment of the kind ever known in England, and Dunstan was the first of English Benedictine abbots.¹ He was, in fact, the father of English monachism, a venerable institution, that long nobly patronised both arts and literature. It had, however, a fatal tendency to nurture idleness, fanaticism, imposture, and hypocrisy. These inherent evils of the system, joined to its close alliance with a hostile foreign power, made even thinking and honourable men admit its overthrow to be desirable. While the wealth accumulated by it during ages of popularity effectually secured the concurrence of those mercenary spirits who view political support, and every thing besides within their power, as mere instruments of private gain. Thus, the extraordinary success of the system that Dunstan planted proved eventually the main-spring of its ruin; and his zeal, that so many generations had admired, came to be represented as a national misfortune and dis-

¹ "Unde primum, eliminato quicquid oculos superni inspectoris offendebat, monachus et abbas effectus, monachorum ibi scholam primo *primus* instituere cœpit" (ADELARD. Vit. Dunst. ap. Wharton. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 101. note.) "Saluberrimam S. Benedicti sequens institutionem, *primus abbas Anglicæ nationis enituit.*"—*Cleop.* 13. 72.

grace. There can be no doubt, however, that Dunstan, though fanatical and ambitious, was able and sincere. Nor can it be denied that the Benedictine order has amply merited respectful consideration. It stands upon far higher ground than that heterogeneous mass of friars, and of discordant monastic sects which gradually overspread the papal reign.

Under Edmund was holden in London¹ a legislative assembly, very fully attended. In this appeared the operation of Dunstan's favourite principles, the first enactment passed being to restrain ecclesiastical persons, whether male or female, from unchastity, under pain of forfeiting their whole properties and the privilege of Christian burial.² Monks and nuns are the parties brought unequivocally under the lash of this regulation; but it is rather loosely worded, and was most probably meant as a warning to the whole sacerdotal order. It had long been a popular

¹ The two archbishops, Odo and Wulfstan, and a large assemblage, both clerical and lay, were present: Easter was the time of year. The precise date is uncertain; but, as Edmund reigned from 941 to 946, this *witena-gemot* may be reasonably placed in 943, or thereabouts. The preamble calls it a *great synod*; but it cannot hence be necessarily inferred that the assembly was convened for ecclesiastical purposes only. Nor, indeed, does it appear certain that the very religious air worn by the preamble, in the printed editions of the councils, is contemporary. From these, Johnson thus renders the latter sentence of the preamble: "There were Odo and Wulfstan, archbishops, and many other *bishops, consulting for the good of their own souls, and of those who were subject to them.*" Now, in the Cotton MS., although Saxon is found answering to the words printed in *italics*, yet it seems an addition, the hand looking different, though ancient.—*Brit. Mus. Nero. A. 1. f. 88.*

² *LL. Eccl. Edm. R.* cap. 1. *SPELM.* i. 420. *WILK.* i. 214.

maxim among the stricter professors of religion, that however human laws might allow priests to marry, conscience demanded their celibacy. The monastic opinions now gaining ground so fast on the continent, and industriously patronised by one of the ablest heads in England, naturally brought this ascetic view into more than usual repute. Another of Edmund's constitutions enjoins the payment of tythes, *church-shot*, and *alms-fee*.¹ It is not easy to determine the exact nature of this last payment : hence it has been considered as identical with the *plough-alms* mentioned in Edward the Elder's treaty with Godrun.² Practically, the decision of such a question is of no great importance in modern times ; not so the repeated legislative mention of assessments for ecclesiastical purposes, independently of tythes. From such notices, it is plain that the *church rates* of after ages are not the mere creatures of some ancient unwritten prescription, but the legitimate successors of more than one formal assessment, constitutionally imposed by the national legislature. It is remarkable, however, that Edmund has not provided civil penalties against defaulters : his legislature merely sanctions their excommunication. Another of his laws enjoins every bishop to repair God's house at his own see,³ and to admonish the king of due pro-

¹ LL. Eccl. Edm. R. cap. 2. SPELM. i. 420. WILK. i. 214.

² LL. Eccl. Edov. Sen. et Guth. ab Alur. et Guth. RR. *primum conditæ*, cap. 6. SPELM. i. 392. WILK. i. 203.

³ There is an ellipse here, which occasions a difficulty. The Saxon stands, *gebetæ Godes hus on his agnum* ; literally, *better God's house on his own*. The last word may be plural. Hence Spelman has "*suis ipsius sumptibus*." Inett does not profess to trans-

vision for churches generally. This looks like another evidence that tythes were not regarded as the sole fund for ~~the~~ maintaining public worship. In other constitutions, Edmund legislates against blood-shedding, perjury, magical arts, and violation of sanctuary.

During his brief reign, the see of Canterbury became vacant, and Odo was translated to it from Sherborne. This prelate was of Danish blood and heathen parentage; but an early conversion, by which he mortally offended all his original connexions, secured his masculine understanding for the Christian ministry.¹ On receiving an offer of the metropolitical chair, he is reported to have demurred, because he was not a monk, alleging that he should want a recommendation which every successor of Augustine had hitherto possessed.² This allegation was probably never made, for there is reason to believe it untrue;³ nor, therefore, need it pass for certain, that Odo surmounted his objection, either by taking the monastic habit at Fleury,⁴ or by receiving it in England from the abbot, especially deputed thence for

late, but he thus paraphrases the canon: "The fifth requires the bishops to repair the churches in their own *demeans and lands*, and to inform the king of such others as want repairs." This appears a reasonable way of filling up the ellipse. Johnson's word, *see*, has however been used in the text, because the Saxon will not warrant Inett's word, *churches*, in the former clause. It merely says *God's house*, in the singular.

¹ OSBERN. *Vita Odonis*.—*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 78.

² *Ib.* 81.

³ "Quod tamen a veritate alienum est: nam quosdam presbyteros fuisse supra retulimus."—*Antiqu. Britan.* 115.

⁴ BROMPTON. *X. Script.* 863.

BROMPTON.

his accommodation :¹ but such relations discover plainly that the monkish era had now fairly begun. To the religious records of England Odo contributed ten extant canons and a synodical epistle, grave and pious compositions, very creditable to his memory. His canons claim immunity for the church from secular impositions, urge a sense of duty upon every class, from the throne downwards, enjoin fasting, alms-giving, and the observance of religious days, especially of Sunday, and insist upon the due payment of tythes.² These venerable monuments offer no superstitious admonition ; nor, although solicitous of unity for the church, do they make any mention of a papal centre, but merely recommend Christians to become one body, by the common bond of faith, hope, and charity, under one head, Jesus Christ.³ From one canon, it appears that the monkish profession was often little else than a pretence for vagrancy and idleness.⁴ From the last, it is plain that the payment of tythes was not considered as a general release from liberality to the poor. Odo

¹ GERVAS. *X. Script.* 1644. OSBERN. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 82.

² SPELM. i. 415. WILK. i. 212.

³ *Can.* 8. SPELM. i. 417. WILK. i. 213.

⁴ *Can.* 6. SPELM. i. 417. WILK. i. 213. Wigfrith, a visitor to Guthlac, the famous hermit of Croyland, told him that he had met with monkish impostors among the Scots. “Dicebat enim se inter Scottorum populos habitasse, et illic pseudo-anachoritas diversorum religionum simulatores vidisse.”—(*Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON. Nero. E. 1. f. 191.*) It might seem fair enough to charge all these impositions upon a rival party ; but obviously, the monks of earlier, and the friars of later times, must have always had among them a considerable body of idle hypocrites. Odo’s canon shews this to have been the case in his day.

says, that men are not only to live, but also to give alms, out of the nine parts remaining after piety has had her tenth. The synodical epistle appears to be imperfect, but it conveys admonition in a religious, humble, and earnest strain, every way worthy of a Christian prelate.¹

Among the monks living under Dunstan at Glastonbury, was a well-born native of Winchester, named Ethelwold;² he had been ordained priest in company with his abbot,³ and he cordially partook of all that eminent man's monastic enthusiasm. So anxious, indeed, was he to rival the most perfect of his order, that he was upon the point of leaving England for a residence among the foreign Benedictines, when the mother of Edred, now upon the throne, conjured her son to save his dominions from the loss of a personage so holy.⁴ Edred was overcome by these persuasions, and, founding a monastery on a royal estate at Abingdon, he made Ethelwold its abbot. This was the second Benedictine house established in England. No exertion, however, of its new superior, was wanting to render it the parent of many others. He was aware that continental monasteries excelled in reading and singing; he therefore procured masters from Corby, to instruct his own society in these attractive arts.⁵ He seems to

¹ SPELM. i. 418. WILK. i. 214.

² *Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON. Nero. E. 1. f. 416.* Ethelwold's parents, we there learn, lived in the reign of Edward the Elder. Wulstan was the author of this life.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 139.

⁵ Hist. Cænob. Abendon.—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 165.

have doubted whether, even under Dunstan, there had been opportunities for a thorough acquaintance with monastic discipline: he sent, accordingly, one of his monks to Fleury for farther instruction.¹ Thus he laid a secure foundation of popularity for his favourite system, by the attractions of its public worship, and by the well-defined, rigid austerity of its discipline. Rightly, therefore, was he termed, in after ages, the *father of monks*.² Dunstan had, indeed, led the way, but his intellect was too comprehensive, and his ordinary habits were too secular, for maturing all those details which the system required for its complete success.

Monachism had, however, scarcely taken root, when Edred, its royal patron, prematurely died. His nephew, Edwy, a very handsome youth,³ succeeded to the throne. This young prince, wearied by the coarse intemperance of his coronation day, withdrew from the festive hall into a private room. Disgusted at his absence, the carousing nobles despatched a remonstrance by Dunstan and a bishop, named Cynesius, related to him. On entering, the messengers found Edwy seated sportively between his wife and mother-in-law, while the crown lay negligently upon the ground. Expostulation being

¹ WULSTAN. MSS. COTTON. 417.

² "Pater monachorum, et sidus Anglorum."—(BROMSTON. X. BROMSTON. Script. 877.) The former of these designations appears to have been borrowed from the *Saxon Chronicle*, which, mentioning Ethelwold's death under the year 984, styles him *muneca fæder*, *father of monks*.

³ "Præ nimiâ etenim pulchritudine *Pancali* sortitus est nomen."—ETHELWERD. *Script. post Bed.* 483.

found unavailing to procure the youthful king's return, a scene of violence ensued. Dunstan ended this by forcing Edwy from his seat, replacing the crown upon his head, and dragging him once more to join the offended revellers.¹ The whole transaction naturally gave mortal offence both to the king and his fair connexions. Dunstan, accordingly, was under the necessity of retiring to Glastonbury: thence he was driven soon after into exile, amidst the tears of his monks. Dunstan's panegyrical biography converts this natural incident into broad caricature, by contrasting the weeping community with the grinning face of Satan, whose peals of laughter, we are told, were distinctly heard, as the abbot's receding steps mournfully passed along the vestibule.² By Dunstan's disgrace, the royal vengeance was not satisfied: his abbey was dissolved, as was also that of Abingdon; and thus English monachism seemed only like some meteor, that brightly flashes, and then immediately disappears.

But Edwy had miscalculated his power. Dunstan's establishments were nurseries of fanaticism, and were studiously formed from admired continental

¹ *Cleop.* B. 13. 76. The queen's name is usually written *Elgiva*: the contemporary life of Dunstan has it *Æthelgifu*. Mr. Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 252. note) may be consulted for authorities proving that this lady was Edwin's wife. She is branded as his mistress by some of the monastic writers, most probably because she was related to him within the prohibited degrees.

² "Audita est in atrio templi vox plaudentis diaboli, quasi vox juvenulæ acriter atque minute cachinnantis."—OSBERN. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 105.

models, both powerful holds upon popular favour : the nobles, also, whose commission the exiled abbot had executed, probably regarded him as a victim in their cause, and hence justly entitled to their protection. An irresistible conspiracy, accordingly, soon secured his triumphant return from Flanders, where he had taken refuge. Nor was this humiliation all that Edwy had to undergo : his insurgent subjects raised Edgar, a younger brother, to the throne, assigning to him, as a kingdom, all England between the Humber and the Thames :¹ Elgiva, too, was divorced by Odo, as related to her unfortunate husband within the prohibited degrees.² With even this the archbishop was not contented : he branded her upon the face, and sent her away to Ireland. A short residence there healed her unsightly wounds, and she ventured upon a return into her native island. Having reached Gloucester, she was arrested, and under Odo's authority the tendons of her legs were barbarously severed.³ Of this cruel mutilation she seems never to have recovered, being soon after overtaken by the hand of death. Elgiva's sufferings have effectually blasted with posterity the memory of Odo : but one age cannot safely measure the men of another by a standard of its own. The archbishop, who has long been regarded as rather a monster than

¹ *Cleop.* B. 13. 78.

² " A.D. 958. This year Archbishop Odo separated Edwy and Elfgiva, because they were too nearly related."—*Sax. Chr.* 150. Dr. INGRAM'S *Transl.*

³ OSBERN. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 84.

a man, was known among contemporaries as *Odo the Good*.¹ His treatment of Elgiva, now ranked among the most inhuman outrages upon record, was attributed, probably, to the absolute necessity of restraining irregular passions, by occasional examples of just severity.

After a short interval, Edwy's untimely death, seemingly by violence, rendered his more fortunate brother master of all England. Upon the unhappy prince, thus cut off in the flower of his age, monkish writers have been immeasurably severe. Ethelwerd, however, a contemporary authority of high rank, assures us that he deserved his people's love.¹ He

¹ *Ode the Good*. (MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 115.) OSBERN (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 86.) gives this designation in a Saxon form: "*Odo se gode*," (ſe ȝode.) The author of this compliment was Dunstan, who is said to have seen a dove in the cathedral of Canterbury, while he was celebrating mass, on Whitsunday, which, after a time, settled on Odo's tomb. This incident, which might easily have happened in a large building with many unglazed windows, was represented as a visible descent of the Holy Ghost, and an undeniable demonstration of Odo's sanctity. Dunstan, accordingly, never subsequently passed his tomb without a reverence, nor spoke of him but as *the good*. This designation, however, was readily adopted by others; and it had not worn out in popular discourse, especially at Canterbury, when Osbern wrote. Had Odo been viewed by his own age, as one unmanly outrage has made posterity view him, Dunstan's authority would not have been sufficient for thus embalming his memory.

This archbishop's name is variously written, *Odo*, *Oda*, and *Ode*. It seems to be the *Oddy* of modern English surnames.

² "*Tenuit namque quadriennio per regnum amandus*." (*Script. post Bed.* 483.) Edwy's death occurred in 959: that it was violent, may be inferred from probability and from the obscure language of ancient authorities. The contemporary life of Dunstan (*Cleop.* B. 13. f. 78) says: "*Interea germanus ejusdem Eadgari,*

was evidently quite unequal to the task of curbing a society so fierce and haughty, as that which owed allegiance to his crown : but this is no very serious imputation upon the memory of a sovereign cut off in youth, and hastily embroiled with such men as Odo and Dunstan.

The latter of these two obtained episcopal honours in the beginning of Edgar's reign. Worcester was his first bishopric, and shortly afterwards he added London to it,¹ both sees lying in the portion of England wrested from Edwy. During that young prince's life, a more splendid ecclesiastical prize became vacant by the death of Archbishop Odo ; but Canterbury was under the authority of Edwy, and by his influence Elsin, bishop of Winchester, became the new metropolitan. This prelate, a decided enemy to their order, is charged by the monks with insulting Odo's grave, and with obtaining Canterbury by simony. He died, however, on his way to Rome, whither he was proceeding for the pall. His unexpected fate

quia justa Dī sui judicia deviando dereliquit, novissimum flatum miserā morte expiravit." An old manuscript chronicler, cited by Mr. Turner (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 257), says, however, expressly, that *he was slain in Gloucestershire*. Mr. Turner gives *Edwin* as the name of this young sovereign, and under a great weight of authority ; but he is called *Eadwig* by the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, and the contemporary life of Dunstan.

¹ Dunstan was advanced to the see of Worcester in 957, and in the following year London was conferred upon him, to hold with it. The next year, being that of Edwy's death, saw his translation to Canterbury. Dunstan's monastic biographers represent that he was offered that see on the two former vacancies, but declined it. Edwy's authority would, however, be likely to prevent Dunstan from receiving any such compliment within the limits of his kingdom.

arose, it is said, from extreme cold encountered in crossing the Alps; but it is represented as a judicial visitation of offended Providence. Brithelm, bishop of Wells, was tantalised by being chosen in his room; but the necessary arrangements were incomplete on Edwy's immature decease: Canterbury, therefore, was not closed against Dunstan's ambition, and the primate elect was compelled to relinquish his claims.¹ Having thus attained the highest dignity within a subject's reach, Dunstan became virtually the most powerful man in England. Edgar was, indeed, a boy of sixteen when he ascended the throne, and he seems ever to have been under the influence of licentious, headstrong passions. Very rarely do such men fill important stations with any degree of credit to themselves, or of advantage to society: Edgar is, however, one of these uncommon instances. Monastic writers have naturally loaded his memory with panegyric; nor can inquirers, however unfavourable to monachism, deny that his rule was glorious and beneficial. He reigned in prosperity and peace, the admitted superior over a larger portion, perhaps, of the island than any one of his ancestors.² Under

¹ OSBERN. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 109. Brithelm is represented by Osbern as a good-natured man, who knew very well how to take care of himself, but who was unfit for active life. "Homo mansuetior quam industrius, et qui suæ magis quam alienæ vitæ nosset consulere." He seems to have been far from willing to relinquish Canterbury. "Jussus a rege, et omni populo, Cantuariâ discedit." —*Ib.*

² þe fecgað to roðan þ̅ ȝe tīma p̅ær ȝerælig ȝ pīnŕum on Angelcýnne þa þa Eadgar cýnīncȝ þone Cnīrten-dom ȝefȝr̅nðrode ȝ fela munu-clīfa ar̅nrode ȝ hīȝ cýnerīce p̅ær punīgende on ŕībbe ȝpa þ̅ man ne ȝehȝr̅de ȝīȝ ænīȝ ŕcȝph̅ene p̅ære buton aȝen̅ne leode þe þīȝ land heoldon

so much good fortune, he attested his exultation with pardonable vanity, by titles, borrowed seemingly from the imperial court of Constantinople.¹ To Dunstan, probably, Edgar was largely indebted for his enviable position.² The royal councils were directed chiefly by a man of extraordinary talent: the mind, indeed, of that illustrious adviser was rather warped upon monastic questions; but its ordinary produce was an enviable succession of views, clear, sound, comprehensive, and decided.

After a reign over all England of about two years, Edgar found his people oppressed by a calamity that no human wisdom could assuage. A dreadful pestilence raged, especially in London.³ As usual in such

Ʒ ealle þa cýningas þe on þýrum íglande wæron. Eumera Ʒ Scotta. comon to Eadgares. hwilon anes dæges eahta cýningas. Ʒ hi ealle Ʒebugon to Eadgares fýrþunge. (*Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON. Hom. in S. Swithun. Julius E. 7. f. 101.*) *We truly say that the time was happy and joyous in the English nation when King Eadgar furthered Christianity, and reared many monks' livings: and his reign continued in peace, so that no fleet was heard of, but of one's own people who hold this land: and all the kings who were in this island, Cumbrians and Scots, came to Eadgar; once in one day eight kings, and these all bowed to Eadgar's direction.* The eight kings meant, are Kenneth of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumbria, Macchus of Anglesey, three from Wales, and two others more difficult of identification.—See TURNER'S *Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 265.

¹ “Ego, Edgarus, totius Albionis basileus, nec non maritimarum seu insulanorum regum circum habitantium.” (MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 32.) “Ego, Edgarus, totius Albionis monarcha.” —INGULPH. *ib.* 502.

² Afflaverat profecto cor regis divinitatis specie (*Dunst. sc.*), ut ejus consilium susciperet in omnibus incunctanter faciens quæcunque Pontifex jubenda putaret. Ille quoque quicquid famæ et salutis regis concinnum esse intelligeret, non omittere, differentem acrius urgere.” —MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 115.

³ In the year 961.—*Sax. Chr.* 153.

seasons, divine justice and human iniquity were anxiously contrasted in the public mind. Advantage was taken of these wholesome feelings to urge a plea in behalf of the Church : the needy and avaricious, disregarding conscience and the feeble sanctions of law, had commonly failed in the faithful discharge of tythes and other ecclesiastical dues. Their case was now represented as analogous to that of tenants failing in their payments to landowners. Men were exhorted to consider the little indulgence usually shewn to such defaulters, and to ask themselves, whether corresponding failures were likely to be excused by God ; his vengeance rather might be justly feared by those who should fraudulently withhold that share from the provision for his service, which had been imposed upon them alike by law and conscience. Arguments of this kind appear to have prevailed in two legislative assemblies, the former of which was holden at Andover, then a royal domain. The rights of religion were now statutably protected by civil penalties ; and thus was established a principle of imposing ecclesiastical rent-charges upon land, recoverable by the ordinary processes of law : no specific penalty, however, was provided, a discretionary power merely being given to the royal officers, which they were strictly enjoined to exercise for the punishment of defaulters.¹

¹ See the document at the end. This venerable piece is bound up in the midst of an ancient MS. volume in the British Museum, chiefly occupied by the lives of saints. This position may be the chief reason why it seems to have been hitherto overlooked. It is entitled in a hand, perhaps, of James the First's time, *Carta Saxonica tem-*

In a subsequent meeting of the Saxon estates, this loose legislation was abandoned. Subtraction of tythes was now placed under cognisance of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities conjointly. The king's reeve, the bishop's, and the mass-priest entitled to recover, were to seize all the property tythable, but on which tythes had not been paid: they were to restore one-tenth of it to the defaulter, to render its tenth to the minister aggrieved, and to divide the remaining eight parts between the lord and the bishop.¹ This earliest of known statutes, guarding

pore Regis Edgari. The piece itself is probably coeval with the latter assembly recorded in it, and may not unreasonably be considered as a sort of proclamation, or authentic declaration, of certain legislative enactments despatched to some principal ecclesiastical establishment. It is followed by a similar exposition of enactments relating to affairs merely temporal. In the catalogue these documents are thus described: *Leges, sive constitutiones Eadgari Regis, quas occasione gravissimæ pestis, per totum regnum statuit observandas* (Saxonice): *folia bina ex libro quodam pænitentiali avulsa.* The MS. volume is thought to have been chiefly written about the year 1000.

¹ “ 3. And let all the tythe of young animals be paid by Pentecost, and of the fruits of the earth by the Equinox: and let every church-scot be paid by Martin's mass, under pain of the full mulct, which the Doom-book mentions. And if any will not pay the tythe as we have commanded, let the king's reeve, and the bishop's reeve, and the mass-priest of the minster, go to him, and take by force the tenth part for the minster to which it belongs, and deliver to him the ninth part, and let the eight parts be divided into two; and let the lord take one half, the bishop the other, whether it be a king's man or a thane's man.” (JOHNSON'S *Transl.* SPELM. i. 444. WILK. i. 245.) There are no known means of affixing a certain date to these constitutions enacted under Edgar. Spelman would assign them to the year 967, or thereabouts, as being in the middle of Edgar's reign. There can be no reasonable doubt that they are posterior to the two legislative assemblies, whose acts are

tythe-owners in the possession of their property by a definite measure of coercion, appears chargeable with unjust severity: the times, however, were lawless and rude; hence the remedies provided for social evils were naturally tinged with unsparing harshness: ecclesiastical dues, also, really require a very full measure of protection. The dealer and artisan, the practitioner in law and medicine, are only controlled by competition in making terms with such as desire their commodities or aid; but the minister of God's word and sacraments enjoys no such advantage. All but fools and reprobates, indeed, freely concede importance to his profession. This acknowledgment, however, generally flows rather from cool, deliberate conviction, than from such feelings as maintain secular vocations. Minds fixed intently upon eternity, are alive to the value of religious ordinances: habitually the wants and cravings of mankind incline them to regard expenditure upon piety, as that which can be most agreeably, safely, and completely retrenched. Legislation, therefore, against such a short-sighted selfishness, is equally merciful and wise. It has planted a liberal profession, and a well-governed house of God, in every corner of England. Considerable seats of wealth and population might have commanded these advantages, and undoubtedly would,

recorded in the Cotton. MS., and which must have been holden after the pestilence, in 961. If they had been anterior to these assemblies, an arbitrary penalty, to be inflicted by the king's reeve alone, would not probably have been provided in the latter. The constitutions long printed are evidently an improvement upon such undefined enactments.

without national aid; but the country generally must have wanted them, unless a competent portion of all the people's industry had been legally reserved for their maintenance: nor, unless this portion had been jealously protected, could it have permanently stood its ground against that spirit of rapacity which human corruption ever keeps in vigour. Such protection, however, having been provided, every estate inherited or acquired was burdened with a variable rent-charge, reserved as the patrimony of religion. Hence opulent landlords were more easily induced to found and build churches upon their several properties. Nor usually did an endowment of glebe satisfy their pious liberality: in many cases, probably in all, they attested solemnly their individual approval of existing laws, by settling the tythes of their lands upon their new establishments. Thus English parochial churches, in themselves private foundations, can allege claims of two several kinds upon the properties around. Not only can they plead immemorial usage, and penal statutes of high antiquity, but also legal surrenders by very distant proprietors, confirmatory of such usage, and formally assenting to such statutes.

From another of Edgar's ecclesiastical laws, it is plain that the foundation of rural churches was in steady progress. The liberality of public bodies, however, seems to have lagged behind that of individuals. A founder was restrained from settling upon his church any more than a third of the tythes paid by its congregation: unless, indeed, it possessed a cemetery, every portion of the sacred tenth was denied. In

such cases, it was probably considered rather as a private chapel : the proprietor, accordingly, was to maintain his priest out of the nine parts. Under no circumstance, however, does a thane appear to have been encouraged in providing religious instruction for his tenantry, by any transfer of the *church-shot*. The ancient minsters, immemorially entitled to it, might seem hitherto to have relaxed nothing from their claims upon this payment :¹ such tenacity must have acted injuriously upon the progress of parochial endowments ; probably, to the great regret of pious and discerning minds. Although a great principle, however, calling for some particular sacrifice, might be generally acknowledged, yet its complete victory over individual prejudices and interests would naturally be slow : hence originates the prevailing uncertainty as to parochial foundations. These have arisen from no legislative compulsion, but from the liberality of individuals during many successive generations, encouraged by the gradual surrender of rights vested in anterior establishments.

¹ “ 2. If there be any thane who hath, on land which he holds by written deed, a church with a burying-place belonging to it, let him pay the third part of his tythes into his own church. If he hath a church with no burying-place belonging to it, let him give his priest what he will out of the nine parts ; and let every church-scot go into the ancient minster from all the ground of freemen.” (JOHNSON’S *Transl.* SPELM. i. 444. WILK. i. 245.) Perhaps it is doubtful whether any distinction is intended here between tythes and church-shot. *Shot* properly means a *payment* ; hence the familiar English phrase, *pay the shot*. If such a general interpretation of the term *shot* be allowable in this place, it might seem not unreasonable to suppose that private founders were allowed to endow their churches with a third of *all* the ecclesiastical dues arising from their estates.

But although Edgar's ecclesiastical legislation, bearing upon the Church's patrimony, is that alone which has retained any practical importance, he is nowise indebted to it for his figure in religious history. He is the hero of monkish chroniclers, and his rule really exerted a lasting influence upon English society, because he was Dunstan's passive instrument in rooting the monastic system. During his brief reign, he seems to have established no fewer than forty-eight monasteries.¹ Had all these been new foundations, they must have wrought striking changes in the national habits and modes of thinking; many of them, however, reared their heads amidst a considerable mass of individual suffering, and greatly to the disapprobation of a numerous party. Clergymen were driven by the hand of power, either to become monks, or to relinquish the homes and livings in which they were legally seated around a minster.² If married, the former part of this alternative must have been felt as an intolerable hardship, to which submission was almost impossible. Nor could many of those who were single have regarded it otherwise than inexcusably tyrannical. Under pain of losing their bread, and of being branded as irreligious, they were called upon to renounce their natural liberty. Some of the abler heads among them, also, might

¹ EADMER, de Vita S. Osw. Archiep. Ebor. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 201. Some of these were nunneries. Bromton is not equally precise, contenting himself with reckoning Edgar's monastic establishments at *more than forty*.—*X. Script.* 868.

² "Itaque clerici multarum ecclesiarum, datâ optione, aut ut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, cessêre melioribus, habitacula vacua facientes."—MALMESE. *Script. post Bed.* 115.

clearly discern that ostentatious observances, and substantial holiness, are by no means inseparable companions : but such considerations operate extensively upon the higher orders alone. Inferior life is little alive to the just rights and reasonable expectations of classes above itself : the ruder intellects also are ever liable to be duped by noisy pretension. It was, accordingly, among his more considerable subjects, that Edgar's alleged reformation encountered opposition ; the great majority, probably, regarded him as piously and patriotically bent upon advancing sound religion, and reforming undeniable abuses.

Dunstan was little more than the adviser of this great ecclesiastical revolution. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, originally bishop of Worcester, eventually archbishop of York, were the principal agents in thus forcing a new character upon existing establishments, and in organising Benedictine societies, in situations where no religious house had previously stood. Ethelwold had been one of Dunstan's earliest inmates at Glastonbury, and had, from the first, gained his good opinion ; otherwise he would never have recommended him as abbot on the foundation of Abingdon. Oswald was nephew to Archbishop Odo, and was placed by him in a canonry at Canterbury. There he imbibed strongly the rising taste for monachism, and passing over to Fleury, he became a Benedictine. By Dunstan he was introduced to Edgar, whose influence procured his election to the see of Worcester. Immediately he fixed his mind upon converting the cathedral there into a

monastery of his own order; but the canons resolutely resisted, and being supported by powerful connexions, he was unable to overcome them. Under this disappointment he planted a rival house, duly supplied with monks, close to his rebellious chapter, in order that the populace might have full opportunity for drawing invidious comparisons between the two systems. This expedient succeeded: immense congregations waited upon the monks, while the canons ministered in a church more than half deserted. This mortification was embittered by serious loss. Worshippers brought offerings to the altar, and these were now taken to the Benedictine church. It was not long before these various causes began to operate: Wensinus, an elderly canon, much respected among his brethren, was the first to give way. Oswald immediately sent him to Ramsey for instruction in the Benedictine discipline. As usual, example proved infectious: other canons became monks, and Wensinus was quickly recalled to Worcester, as prior of the monastery which Oswald had now succeeded in substituting for his chapter.¹ Thus was consummated the first of these popular innovations; and, accordingly, the process of converting a chapter into a monastery became known as *Oswald's Law*.² Ethelwold seems, indeed, to have preceded

¹ EADMER, de Vita S. Osw.—*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 203.

² WHARTON in Eadm. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 202. Florence of Worcester, there cited, assigns Oswald's innovation to 969. It appears, however, to have occupied two years from that time, before it was fully carried into effect. (*Ib.* i. 546.) Edgar's charter of *Oswald's Law*, as it is there styled, was granted in confirmation of Oswald's changes at Worcester, with the concurrence of the Saxon estates.

Oswald in such an attempt upon his own cathedral of Winchester. But he, probably, found more difficulty in accomplishing his design. Of the other bishops we hear nothing, and therefore they may fairly be considered as either indifferent, or hostile to the violence intended for every cathedral. But Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald, formed a triumvirate, which, backed by the royal authority, might generally defy resistance. Hence Edgar's reign was marked by a succession of triumphs for the monastic party.

This victorious progress was undoubtedly secured by a strong current of popular affection. Besides parading themselves and their system as perfect models of self-denial, monks were most ingenious and indefatigable in supplying the vulgar appetite for marvels. Churches, never hitherto famed for any miraculous pretension, had no sooner passed into monastic hands, than their cemeteries were found mines of wonder-working relics.¹ Even monasteries, un-

It is printed by Spelman (i. 432), and by Wilkins (i. 239). It is remarkable, in general history, for a statement in the preamble, that Athelstan was the first of English kings to whom the whole island became subject. Even this assertion must, of course, be received with some limitation, but it evidently shews that the extent of Egbert's ascendancy is commonly overrated.

¹ Ethelwold, as might be expected, led the way in making these discoveries. "In illo tempore dictus vir venerabilis Ethelwoldus, Wintoniensis episcopus, monasteriorum constructor, a rege Edgaro impetravit, ut sanctorum corpora, quæ in destructis locis jacebant in negligentia, transferre sibi liceret in ea quæ construxerat monasteria." (BROMTON *X. Script.* 868.) From this it seems likely, that Ethelwold looked out for something to attract lovers of the marvellous, whenever he established a monastery, as an integral

recommended by a single promising interment, were careful to supply from a distance this mortifying and prejudicial deficiency.¹ Some departed saint, or at least, some part of one, was diligently sought and fairly gained. At other times, it was the shameful prize of either force or fraud. From whatever source this important acquisition came, the lucky house felt neither difficulty nor scruple in extracting from it both fame and fortune. Sickly pilgrims quickly crowded around their altar, and returned home enraptured by a cure. Nor is it doubtful that, among these invalids, many found a real benefit: change of air and scene, unwonted exercise, powerful excitement, are quite enough to give temporary relief under several human ailments. It would, however, be unfair to charge indiscriminately with dishonesty, this monastic provision for popular credulity. Among the monks were, probably, some few who valued relics merely as a productive source of revenue; but the

portion of its equipments. It may seem amusing to be gravely told, that so long as the canons retained their ancient possessions in the church of Winchester, no miracles graced St. Swithun's tomb, but that the monks produced immediately a very different scene. "*Quamdiu enim clerici inhabitabant ecclesiam Wentanam, nulla per sanctum Swythunum Deus miracula operatus est; sed ipsis ejectis, statim miracula patrata sunt.*"—*RUDBORNE Angl. Sacr.* i. 223.

¹ "In the reign of Edgar, a shameful description of robbery had obtained among ecclesiastical bodies—the stealing of relics, upon a pretended divine revelation. In those days, it was no uncommon practice for powerful abbeys to despoil the weaker monasteries, or to rob defenceless villages of their sainted remains, in order to increase the celebrity of their own foundations."—*GORHAM'S Hist. and Antiq. of Eynesbury and St. Neot's*, i. 48.

majority consisted of genuine fanatics. Now, such spirits have at all times, and under every circumstance, eagerly clung to miracle. Vainly for this tenacity do they live when knowledge is widely spread, or even when scoffers are abundant. Their vanity and credulity are very seldom proof against any disposition to give themselves, or their party, credit for supernatural endowments. Monastic bodies, therefore, in the tenth century, may reasonably claim indulgence from those who trace to them that particular species of religious imposture and delusion, which descended from their age uninterruptedly to the Reformation.¹

It was not, however, within Dunstan's power to transfer a considerable mass of property from one order of men to another, without legislative intervention. Upon this necessity, the canons menaced with ejection anxiously relied. They naturally complained of gross injustice, and their cause was espoused by a majority among persons of condition. A convocation of the national estates afforded them, therefore, a reasonable hope of defeating royal policy and popular enthusiasm. Such an assembly was yielded to their importunities,² apparently in the year 968. Winchester was the place of its meeting, and it

¹ Fuller observes rather quaintly, but with great force and justice, "Whereas formerly corruptions came into the church at the wicket, now the broad gates were open for their entrance; monkery making way for ignorance and superstition to overspread the whole world.—*Ch. Hist.* Cent. x. 134.

² *Fragmenta ex Aliâ Vitâ S. Dunst. autore Osberto Monacho Sæcul. 12.*—*Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* v. 706.

opened most ominously for the monastic party. Edgar, indeed, with the episcopal triumvirate, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald, brought heavy charges against married clergymen: these were met by assurances, that all reasonable causes of complaint should be removed. Nor did an overwhelming proportion of the assembled legislators discover any disposition to carry compliance farther. Edgar, accordingly, began to waver,¹ and was upon the point of siding with his nobles, when he and Dunstan are said to have heard, repeatedly and distinctly, from a crucifix in the wall, the following words: *God forbid it to be done: God forbid it to be done.*² In other parts of the hall, nothing more than some unintelligible noise appears to have been perceived: enough was heard, however, to raise curiosity and awe. The mysterious murmur was now explained, and the assembly felt a divine compulsion to drive the unhappy canons from their homes. This relation appears in the monastic writers generally; but Florence of Worcester, who mentions the council, has omitted it: hence modern Romish

¹ Even Dunstan also is represented as shaken. Osbern makes him say, immediately before the crucifix spoke, *Fateor vincere vos nolo. Ecclesiæ suæ causam Christo judici committo.* Wharton prefers Capgrave's version of his alleged speech. *Fateor, vinci nolo.*—De Vit. S. Dunst. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 112.

² *Absit hoc ut fiat. Absit hoc ut fiat.* The crucifix appears, from Osbern, to have been eloquent no farther. The ancient MS. chronicle cited by Spelman, adds to these words the following: *Judicastis benè, mutaretis non benè.* It also adds, that all the assembly having fallen to the earth with alarm, the crucifix said, but again so that only Edgar and Dunstan could distinguish the words—*Surgite ne expavescatis; quia hodiè justitia et pax in monachis osculata sunt.*

authors are sufficiently justified in representing it as an apocryphal legend, posterior to the Conquest. Florence, however, places the council of Winchester after Edgar's death, and, indeed, leaves the whole transaction in considerable obscurity.¹ But, independently of ancient authority for placing this council in 968, it is plain that some new legislative powers were, about that time, required for giving efficacy to Edgar's intentions, actually brought into operation very shortly afterwards : nor without some ingenious contrivance were the canons likely to be deserted by their powerful friends.

On Edgar's premature decease,² their claims upon humanity and justice were promptly vindicated. The intrusive monks were generally expelled by persons in authority, and the clerical victims of an oppressive, calumnious fanaticism, again took possession of their homes and properties.³ A large proportion of their

¹ Spelman (*Conc.* ii. 490) has collected the various printed authorities bearing upon the council of Winchester, and has added to them a citation from an ancient MS. chronicle. From this he is led to place the council in 968 ; and Wharton (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 112) considers him to have judged rightly : evidently he has probability with him. It is a point, however, involved in much obscurity, the councils of Winchester and Calne having been commonly confounded together. There is a declamatory speech, extolling the monks and disparaging the canons, assigned to Edgar by Ethelred. (*X. Script.* 360.) The substance of this was, probably, spoken at the council of Winchester. The author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (p. 127) would refer it to 969. It is reprinted there, and by Spelman, *Conc.* i. 476.

² Edgar died in 975, at the age of thirty-two.

³ “ Post obitum vero Edgari status regni turbabatur, nam plures magnates, ejectis monachis, de magnis monasteriis quos rex

protectors would fain have given them the security of a prince pledged in their favour. Under Edgar's son, by his second wife, they had a reasonable prospect of this advantage: but his own will, and the prior claims of Edward, his offspring by a former marriage, backed by the influence of Dunstan, were found irresistible.¹ In conceding this point, however, the more intelligent classes had no thought of surrendering also their clergy to proscription. The kingdom was agitated, accordingly, by angry debates, loud complaints, and harassing apprehensions.² For allaying these heats a legislative assembly was convened at Calne.³ This was attended by Beornhelm, a Scottish prelate of commanding eloquence, as advocate for the menaced and insulted clergy.⁴ The monastic party thus felt itself pressed, not only by a preponderating weight of property and intelligence, but also by talents for debate, probably superior to any within its own command. Hence Dunstan was almost over-

Edgarus et Dunstanus dudum instituerant, clericos cum uxoribus reduxerunt."—*Bibl. Lameth. MSS.* 12. JOHAN. TINMOUTH. *Hist. Aurea.* Pars. 3. f. 80.

¹ EADMER, de Vita S. Dunst.—*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 220.

² "Multus indè tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus est."—INGULPH, *Script. post Bed.* 506.

³ In 978. *Sax. Chr.* 163. Spelman doubts whether this council might not have been holden in the preceding year. In that year, a council was holden at Kirtlington. A third council was holden at Amesbury. This appears to have been for the purpose of completing the business broken off by the accident at Calne. But there are no decrees extant passed in any one of these three councils.

⁴ Eadmer (*ut supra*) says, that the northern orator was hired upon very liberal terms: *magno conductum pretio*.

powered, when the floor suddenly gave way, and most of his auditors fell violently into a chamber underneath. Many were killed upon the spot, and others were extricated with such injuries as condemned them to suffering for life. The archbishop, and, according to some authorities, his friends also, wholly escaped, the beam under him remaining firm.¹ This extraordinary good fortune was interpreted as a divine manifestation in favour of monachism, and it secured its triumph. Among moderns, it has commonly fastened upon Dunstan an imputation of cruelty and fraud. It might have been accidental; but accidents very opportune, especially when occurring in an age of gross ignorance, are fairly open to suspicion.

Immaturity of years excused the king from attending this assembly;² and his violent death soon afterwards damped monastic hopes. He fell by the blow of an assassin, hired by his mother-in-law, who thus opened the throne for her own son's accession.³ Edward's untimely fate was, therefore, owing merely

¹ The *Saxon Chronicle* says that Dunstan stood *alone*: Malmesbury says the same. On the other hand, Eadmer says, "Ubi vero Dunstanus *cum suis consistebat*, nulla ruina domus." John of Tinmouth also (*ut supra*), says, "Ubi vero *cum suis* *scus accubabat*, ibi nulla ruine suffusio fiebat." Obviously the suspicion of contrivance is very much weakened, if Dunstan were the only party saved from falling: so say, however, the most ancient authorities. A particular examination of the case may be seen in Mr. Turner's *Hist. Angl. Sax.* ii. 277.

² "Absente propter ætatem rege."—MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 34.

³ Edward was assassinated at Corfe Castle, the residence of his mother-in-law Elfrida, in 978.—*Sax. Chr.* 163.

to the vindictive and restless cupidity of an ambitious woman. His unfledged authority had, however, served as a rallying point for the monastic party; and accordingly he became known as *the martyr*. Nor were the monks tardy in discerning, that although dead he might advance their interest. His remains were invested with a saintly celebrity and devotees eagerly crowded around them.¹ This royal youth's assassination thus afforded a share of the seed eventually so prolific in superstition. Any extensive immediate benefit, however, does not seem to have gladdened the monastic party from his brief career. Domestic rivalry soon became, indeed, unequal to the full command of popular attention, for Scandinavia poured again her pirates over England. But the controversy between monks and canons could hardly fail of poisoning every considerable respite, and thus of undermining the Anglo-Saxon state. Hence, this unhappy strife may fairly be considered as a cause of that national decrepitude which allowed a temporary ascendancy to Denmark, and which eventually gave the Normans a secure establishment.

Under Ethelred, ignominiously known as *the Unready*, opened early a protracted series of harassing

¹ As this unfortunate lad, after losing his seat, was dragged a considerable distance in the stirrups, it is probable that his corpse was very much disfigured. This might occasion it to be burnt, which we find from Lupus, cited by Hickes, was the case. The ashes were buried at Wareham. The *Saxon Chronicle* speaks of those who "bow on their knees before his dead bones" (164.), but makes no mention of any miracles wrought. These, however, as might be expected, had arrived in full force before Malmesbury's time.—*Script. post Bed.* 34.

and disgraceful scenes.¹ In the year following his half-brother's assassination Dunstan crowned the young king, then only eleven years old, at Kingston.² The archbishop is said to have predicted that the sword having placed a diadem on his brow would never cease to shed misery over his reign.³ He probably saw too plainly the prevalence of domestic dissension, and a fearful storm gathering in the north. Even such an intellect as his own might prove unequal to disarm the dangers provoked by a hasty and unjust attack upon established rights and institutions. But his age now forced attention steadily upon the the grave. Ethelred, also, was a mere child, and probably one in whom his discerning eye could rest upon little that was promising. There is no occasion therefore, to doubt Dunstan's prediction of an unhappy reign, or to believe, with his monkish biographers, that he spoke from inspiration. He lived to see his apprehensions considerably realised, but died before the king had attained complete maturity.⁴

¹ The pirates of Scandinavia recommenced their descents upon England in 980. (*Sax. Chr.* 165.) *Unready* means *ill-advised*, or *unprovided with a plan*. The Saxon word *ræd* is equivalent to *counsel*, evidently a Norman importation. *Ethelred* means *noble counsel*. The *Unready* seems to have been a derisory pun, very naturally suggested by the glaring contrast between the name and the administration of this most incompetent prince.

² In 979.—*Sax. Chr.* 164.

³ INGULPH. *Script. post Bed.* 506.

⁴ Dunstan died in 988. (*Sax. Chr.* 167.) Ethelred was then about twenty. Osbern makes the archbishop to have died at the age of seventy, or thereabouts. But this is inconsistent with the statement, made by himself and others, that Dunstan was born

In spite of all that monkish eulogists have done to render him ridiculous, his whole history proves him to have possessed uncommon talents. His prominence in monastic history may rather, perhaps, be regretted by many who feel a jealous interest in English records of departed genius. But although Dunstan originally moulded national fanaticism after Benedict, it should not be forgotten that others chiefly lent activity for the details of his ill-advised innovation. Nor does he seem chargeable with making that provision for popular credulity which the complete success of monachism demanded. Ethelwold and Oswald were the ejectors of canons; and the former of these prelates was the indefatigable rifler of tombs with saintly names. Around Dunstan's own cathedral of Canterbury the canons remained in possession of their homes.¹ This personal inactivity wears rather the appearance of selfish policy, but it affords, undoubtedly, a presumption that Dunstan's strength of mind raised him somewhat above the injustice and illusion which his favourite project

under Athelstan. In this case he could not have been more than sixty-four. The inaccuracy, however, is probably in the time assigned to his birth, not in the age ascribed to him.

¹ They were not disturbed until 1005, seventeen years, namely, after Dunstan's death. (*X. Script.* 1780.) Ælfric, then Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained authority from Ethelred and his legislature for this innovation: a copy of the instrument is preserved among the Cotton MSS. (*Claudius*, A. 3. f. 3.) and this is printed by SPELMAN (i. 504.) and by WILKINS (i. 282.) The intrusive monks, however, did not long maintain their ground, and it was reserved for Lanfranc, in 1074, to accomplish that expulsion of the dean and chapter which continued to the Reformation.—WHARTON, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 135.

naturally produced. A more unequivocal display of his intellectual vigour, and independence likewise, arose from his excommunication of a very powerful earl who had contracted an incestuous marriage. The offender, finding royal interference ineffectual, sent agents well supplied with money to Rome; the Pope was won over, and wrote a letter commanding and entreating Dunstan to grant the desired absolution. This was, however, positively refused until the sin had been forsaken, whoever might sue for such indulgence, and whatever danger might hang upon denying it.¹ A reply, so insubordinate, may surprise those who loosely consider the Church of England

¹ "Tunc ille seipso deterior immani est furore correptus, et nihil eorum quæ possidebat alicujus esse momenti reputans, ad hoc solum se totum studebat impendere, ut Dunstano excitaret scandalum, et Christianæ legis jugum, quo a suâ libidine coercebatur, sibi faceret alienum. Legatos itaque suos Romam destinat, et talibus assueta quorundam Romanorum corda et ora in suam causam largo munere, largiori sponsione, permutat. Quid inde? Præsul apostolicæ sedis Dunstano peccatori homini condescendere, verbis ac literis mandat, et eum Ecclesiæ gremio integrè conciliare monet, hortatur, imperat. Ad quæ Dunstanus ita respondet, *Equidem cum illum de quo agitur, sui delicti pœnitudinem gerere videro, præceptis domini Papæ liberis parebo. Sed ut ipse in peccato suo jaceat, et immunis ab ecclesiasticâ disciplinâ nobis insultet, et exinde gaudeat; nolit Deus. Avertat etiam Deus a me, ut ego causâ alicujus mortalis hominis, vel pro redemptione capitis mei, postponam legem quam servandam statuit in suâ Ecclesiâ idem Dominus meus, Jesus Christus, Filius Dei.*" (SURIUS, *De Probatis SS. Historiis*. Colon. Agrip. 1572, tom. 3, p. 323.) Baronius, naturally scandalised by this relation, places the following gloss between the Pope's mandate and Dunstan's reply: "Sed si pœnitens peccatum relinqueret voluit mandatum intelligi; nec enim alter potuit intellexisse." (*Annal. Eccl. Luc.* 1744. Tom. 16. p. 203.) But this is merely a gratuitous inference.

identical in principles from Augustine to the Reformation. But Anglo-Saxon times knew nothing of papal jurisdiction. A close and deferential connexion with Rome was indeed assiduously cultivated. Authority for domestic purposes rested exclusively at home. Edgar, accordingly, though the passive instrument of Dunstan, and the corner-stone of English monachism, asserted expressly the royal supremacy, styling himself the *Vicar of Christ*.¹

No literary remains bearing Dunstan's name are extant, but we have a body of penitential canons referable to his age, and compiled, probably, under his inspection. In one of these, a married person, ordained on the dismissal of his wife, and afterwards returning to cohabitation with her, is condemned to the same penance as a murderer.² The archbishop was buried in his cathedral at Canterbury; but Glastonbury pined under such a loss of honour and emolument. It was resolutely, therefore, maintained, that the earliest and most venerated of English Benedictine abbots had, like the founder of his order, been furtively removed, and that his mortal spoils really rested within his own loved isle of Avalon.³

¹ "Vitiorum cuneos Canonicorum e diversis nostri regiminis cœnobiis Christi Vicarius eliminavi."—*Monach. Hydens. LL. sub Edg. datæ. cap. 8.* SPELM. i. 438. WILK. i. 242.

² 40. "If a mass-priest, or monk, or deacon, had a lawful wife before he was ordained, and dismisses her and takes orders, and then receives her again by lying with her, let every one of them fast as for murder, and vehemently lament it."—JOHNSON'S *Transl. Canones* sub Edg. R. cap. 31. SPELM. i. 465. WILK. i. 233.

³ "Quidam ex vestris, noviter, ut putamus, inter vos conversi, prædicant antiquos patres vestros *fures fuisse et latrones, et quod*

Vainly did the monks of Canterbury shew his tomb, and defy their western rivals to prove its violation. A legend was produced, referring this to the darkest period of Danish anarchy: pilgrims, accordingly, were decoyed to Glastonbury during many ages, by the fame of Dunstan's relics. At length was announced an augmentation to their attraction, in a new shrine of unusual splendour. The cool, strong sense of Archbishop Warham revolted against such an abuse of popular credulity, and he desired his famed predecessor's coffin to be examined. In it were found a skeleton, and other fragments of mortality, proving incontestably that the hero of monastic story had been respected in his grave.¹ This discovery might mortify the monks of Glastonbury: their cupidity was proof against it. The abbot's reply to Warham expresses an apprehension lest, in damping the ardour which drew so many pilgrims to his house, he should incur Gamaliel's imputation of *fighting against God*.²

nequius est, etiam sacrilegos; idque illorum prædicandi laudi ascribunt, quod tales fuerunt, fortassis et eâdem voluntate debriati, non perpendentes quod divinâ intonat paginâ. Fures, sc. et latrones, regnum Dei non possessuros. (EADMER, Epist. ad Glastonienses de Corp. S. Dunst. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 222.) The legend invented for detailing the alleged abstraction of Dunstan's remains from Canterbury, while that city lay ruined by the Danes, is very circumstantial, and may be seen in D'Achery and Mabillon's Collection. *Transl. S. Dunst. in Monast. Glaston. Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* v. 713.

¹ Scrutinium factum circa feretrum beatissimi patris, Dunstani Archiep. ex mandato reverendissimi patris ac Domini, Willelmi Warham, Cant. Archiep. et Domini Thomæ Goldston, sacræ paginæ Prof. ejusd. eccl. Prioris digniss. A.D. 1508. Die 22. Ap.—*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 227.

² Acts v. 39. Epist. Abbat. Glaston. *Ib.* 231.

In 1008, Ethelred held a legislative assembly at Eanham, probably the modern Ensham in Oxfordshire.¹ It was very numerously attended,² and it enacted laws for a general armament, both naval and military.³ Among its ecclesiastical sanctions is a particular statement of dues, claimable by the church, but without any penal provision to enforce them. They stand thus: plough-alsms to be paid within

¹ The date of this *witena-gemot* has been considered as not exactly ascertainable. Spelman refers it to *about* 1009, that year being at some distance both from 1006, when Elphege was translated to Canterbury, and 1013, when he was murdered by the Danes. Among the Cottonian MSS., however, in the British Museum (*Nero. A. 1. f. 90*), the proceedings at Eanham are thus headed: IN NOMINE DÑI—AÑO NĪC INCARN· M.VIII. Now, we learn from the *Saxon Chronicle* (p. 181), that Elphege went to Rome for his pall in 1007, and that Ethelred gave orders that all landowners should provide either ships, or armour, according to the magnitude of their several estates, in 1008. The king could make no such order without legislative authority: this was, most probably, obtained at Eanham.

² “Universi Anglorum optimates.” (*Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Claudius, A. 3. f. 30.*) This MS., which is in large octavo, excellently preserved, appears to be that which Sir Henry Spelman used in preparing his edition of the *Councils*. In the Cottonian MS., cited in the last note, which seems to have been more generally overlooked, the preamble to the proceedings stands thus: ÐIȝ Iȝ ȝeo ȝeƿæddneȝ þe Engla cýnȝ. ȝ æȝðeȝ ȝehaðode. ȝelæƿede ȝeƿitan ȝecurpan ȝ ȝeƿæddan. *This is the enactment which the king of the Angles, and both the ordained, and the lay senators, chose and enacted.* At the top of the page is written, in a hand of considerable age: “An act of parliament, as ytt were.” Afterwards, we find in the same hand: “This is not in print.”

³ “A man possessed of 310 hides, to provide one galley, or skiff; and a man possessed of 8 hides only, to find a helmet and breastplate.”—*Sax. Chr. Dr. INGRAM'S Transl. p. 181. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Claudius, A. 3. f. 32.*

fifteen nights after Easter, tythe of young by Whitsuntide; of the earth's produce at All-Hallows, Rome-fee at St. Peter's mass, and light-shot thrice in a year. Soul-shot was to be paid on the opening of a grave; and in case of interment without the district in which the deceased had regularly gone to confession, the minster of that district was, nevertheless, to claim soul-shot. This ancient enactment is an obvious authority for the burial-fees, often claimed within their own parishes, from the relatives of parties interred without them. The Eanham legislators also forbade strictly, marketing and popular meetings, on Sunday; enjoined festivals in commemoration of the blessed Virgin and the Apostles; and instituted a solemn anniversary on the day of the late king's assassination.¹ This last enactment is a proof of successful

¹ *Gelærte man Godes gerihtra georne. æghwylce gearne. Ðæt is Sulh-ælmerran. xv niht on ufan Eastran. 7 Geoððe teoðunge be Pentecosten. 7 Eorð þærtna be Ealra-halgena mærran. 7 Rom-ƿeoh be Petres mærran. 7 Leoh-tercot þrifa on gearne. 7 Saul-ƿceat is rihtraf þ man rymle gelærte æt openum gnafe. 7 gif man ænig lic of riht ƿerftrcipe eller-hƿan leoge. gelærte man Saul-ƿceat rpa þeh into þam mýnrne þe hit to hýrne. 7 ealle Godes gerihtra rýnrþige man georne. eal rpa hit þearf is. 7 fneolra 7 færtena healde man rihtlice. runnan-dæges fneolr healde man georne rpa þær to gebýrige. 7 cýpinga. 7 folc-gemota on þam halgan dæge gefrize man georne. 7 fce Marian fneolr-tida ealle ƿeorðie man georne. æneft mid færtene. 7 rýððan mid fneolfe. 7 to æghwylces Aƿortoles heah-tide færte man 7 fneolrige. buton to Philippur 7 Iacobur fneolfe ne beode ƿe nan fæsten. for þam Eastrorlican fneolfe. Eller oðne fneolra 7 færtena healde man georne. rpa rpa þa heolban þe þe betrf heolban. And fce Eadƿenðes mæffe-dæg ƿitan habban gecopen þ man fneolrian fceal ofer eal Engla land. on kl. Aprílir. 7 fæstan ælc Frijedæg. butan hit fneolr rý. Orbal 7 aðar rýndan toceðen fneolrbazum 7 riht ýmber bazum. 7 frrnam Adventum Dñi oð octabar Epiphanie. 7 frrnam Septuagesimam oð xv ofer Eastran. Beo ðam halgan tidan eal rpa hit riht is eallum Criftenum mannum rib 7 rom gemæne. 7 ælc facu getræmed. (*Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Nero. A. 1. f. 91.*) *Let God's rights be paid earnestly every year: that is, plough-alms fifteen nights over Easter, and tythe of young by Pentecost, and**

activity in the monastic party. No pains were spared, probably, to spread a belief, that, among national transgressions, now so severely visited, few had cried more loudly for vengeance than the murder of an innocent, well-disposed king. Such a topic might be easily so urged as to cast a shade of obloquy upon the persevering resistance of great men to a complete monastic triumph. Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury, eventually a victim to Danish violence,¹ ap-

fruits of the earth by All-Hallows' mass, and Rome-fee by Petre's mass, and light-shot thrice in a year, and soul-shot, it is rightest that a man ever pay at open grave ; and if a corpse be laid elsewhere out of its right shrift-shire, let soul-shot be paid nevertheless into the minster which had the pastorship of it : and let all God's rights be earnestly respected, even as it is needful, and let feasts and fasts be rightly holden. Let Sunday's feast be holden earnestly, even as it thereto. belongeth ; and let marketings and folk-motes be earnestly avoided on that holy day : and let all St. Maria's festival tides be earnestly observed, erst with fast, and then with feast : and to each Apostle's high tide let there be a fast and feast ; but to Philippus and Jacobus' feast, we bid no fast, on account of the Easter feast. Else let other feasts and fasts be earnestly holden, even as those hold who hold them best. And St. Eadwerd's mass-day the senators have chosen to be made a feast over all the land of the Angles, on kal. Aprilis : and fast every Friday, unless it be a feast. Ordeal and oaths are forbidden on feast-days and right ember days ; and from Adventum Domini until Octabas Epiphanie, and from Septuagesimam until xv. over Easter. In the holy tides, even as it right is, let peace and concord be common to all Christian men, and let every strife be laid aside.

Spelman's copy of the Eanham enactments (*Conc. i.* 517) mentions *church-shot* besides *light-shot*, takes no notice of St. Edward's day, and exhibits other variations. Johnson translates from this ; and he observes, from the reservation of tythes until All-Hallows, that corn tythes must have been paid in the grain.

¹ Elphege being taken prisoner on the capture of Canterbury by the Danes, had the offer of ransoming his life upon extravagant

peared at the head of his own order, in this meeting of the Saxon estates. In it, however, the services rendered by himself and the Archbishop of York were not merely deliberative: besides these, the two prelates communicated, to a crowd of people in attendance, such things as had been enacted, in the shape of an exhortation to obedience. Probably this was deemed a publication of these legislative acts, and was the usual practice.¹ This admonitory communication also urges the duty of building churches, in all parts of the country.² For such a charge, it is most likely that the metropolitans had legislative sanction. It was one of those harassing and calamitous times, in which men earnestly think of propitiating the favour of heaven. Obviously, however, that healthy tone of national morality, which has the promise of divine approbation, will arise from nothing so certainly, as from sufficient provision for a people's

terms. He refused, and being felled with bones, and other hard substances, he received his death-blow from a battle-axe. (*Sax. Chr.* 189. OSBERN, de Vit. S. Elph. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 140.) Lanfranc denied him to be a true martyr, saying that he lost his life, "not for the confession of Christ's name, but because he would not redeem himself for money."—*Ib.* 134. note.

¹ "Post hæc igitur archipontifices predicti convocatâ plebis multitudine collecte, regis edicto supradicti, omniumque consensu catholicorum, omnibus communiter predicabant." (*Brit. Mus. MSS.* COTTON, *Claudius*, A. 3. f. 31.) The *preaching* begins with an exhortation to a right faith in the Trinity, proceeds to declaim against heathenism, and gradually unfolds a mass of sanctions ecclesiastical as well as civil. Among the latter appear penalties against neglect of the naval and military armaments enacted.

² "Ecclesias namque per loca singula edificate, in Dñi subsidio cunctipotentis, nec non et regis terreni."—*Ib.*

religious wants. In modern times, this archiepiscopal recommendation is chiefly worthy of attention, because it furnishes one, among the multitude of proofs, that our parochial churches are not national foundations, but the gradual fruits of individual liberality.

Men's anxiety to propitiate the wrath of heaven, by a strict attention to every Christian duty, was further attested in a legislative assembly holden at Haba, a place not identified.¹ It was there enacted, that a penny, either in money or in kind, should be rendered for every plough-land, and that the same sum should be paid by every member of a congregation.² This may be considered, probably, a statutable authority for Easter offerings. Another section earnestly enjoins an exact payment of *church-shot* and tythes. From this we learn, that the mode of tything was to surrender the produce of every tenth acre, as the plough went.³ Other sections enforce, in general terms, a faithful discharge of all the

¹ Otherwise Bada, (WILK. i. 295.) It appears to have been so written in a MS. formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Augustine, at Canterbury. These enactments are undated; but Johnson refers them to 1014, when Ethelred had returned from Normandy, where he and his queen had taken refuge, and when he was promising the correction of his errors in administration.

² *Hirmannus*. "The priest's *hirman*, or *hyreman*, was what we call a parishioner." (JOHNSON). This writer conjectures, that the penny imposed upon plough-lands, in the former part of the clause, is not the old *plough-alms*, but an extraordinary benevolence, granted under the horror of Danish invasion. The Anglo-Saxon penny, it should be remembered, was equivalent to our threepence, to say nothing of alteration in the value of money.

³ Cap. 4. SPELM. i. 531. WILK. i. 295.

Church's claims;¹ and one of them confirms established penalties for default:² a solemn fast of three days, also, is instituted before the feast of St. Michael,³ and the people are urgently reminded of their

¹ These are thus enumerated in a MS. which must be about this age, as it is posterior to Dunstan, who is mentioned in f. 30. *Ænert fulh-ælmerran· xv niht ofer Eartnan· 7eoðoðe teoðunge be Pentecosten· Rom-feoh be Petres mærran· eorð-præftma be Ealra-halgena mærran· cýric-ŕeat to Martinus mærran· 7 leohht-7erŕeotu þripa on 7eane· ænert on Eartre-efen· 7 oðre 7iðe on Candel-mærre-efen· þripðan 7iðe on Ealra-halgena-mærre-efen·* (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. *Junii* 121. f. 55.) *Erst, plough-alms xv. nights over Easter, tythe of young by Pentecost, Rome-fee by Peter's mass, fruits of the earth by All-Hallows' mass, church-shot at Martinus' mass, and light-shot thrice in a year; erst, on Easter-eve, and another time on Candlemas-eve, and the third time on All-Hallows' mass-eve.* Of these dues the clergy were solemnly to remind their congregations, at stated times. *Riht 17 þ þneorŕas folc mýnegian þ h1 Gode don ŕeulon to 7erihtrum on teoðungum· 7 on oðrum þingum.*

Riht 17 þ man þirŕer mýnegie to Eartnum· oðre 7iðe to gang-ðagum· þripðan 7iðe to Miððan-ŕumeŕa· þonne hið mæŕt polceŕ 7eðaðeþoð. (*Ib.* ff. 54. 55.)

Right is that priests remind folk that they do what is right to God, in tythes and in other things.

Right is that men be reminded of this at Easter, another time at the gang-days (Rogation days), a third time, at midsummer, when most folk is gathered.

² Cap. 7. SPELM. i. 532. WILK. i. 295.

³ "While Apulia was infested by northern invaders, the Christians there obtained a signal victory, and weré made to believe that this was done by the assistance of St. Michael, whose help they had invoked by three days' fasting and humiliation. There can be no doubt but that the fast here enjoined was in imitation of that of Italy. But it is observable, that there were in this age two Michaelmas days in the year; for a church was erected to this angel in Mount Garganus, where he was believed to have appeared, and to have obtained a victory for the Christians. The foundation of this church was laid on the 8th of May, and it was consecrated on the 29th of September, by which means both these days became stated festivals."—JOHNSON, *in loc.*

duties, both religious and moral. The reason expressly given for all this earnest exhortation, is the pressing necessity for God's blessing to secure victory and peace. Thus a whole nation was driven, by the force of overwhelming calamity, into that enviable disposition for serious thought, which individuals display when anguish weighs their spirits down, or death is before their eyes. At such a time, the spiritual profession appears in all its real value. Hitherto, perhaps, little occasion had been felt for any other than worldly callings; but new wants now crowd upon the mind, and men provide for the service of God, as if they deeply desired his honour and the welfare of their fellows. Ordinarily religion pleads in vain for that liberal care which the best interests of society really demand.

A ray from one illustrious name gleams brightly over the wretched and humiliating reign of Ethelred. While England bled at every pore, an admirable genius was indefatigably bent upon mitigating her distress, by furnishing abundantly the balm of sound instruction. It was Elfric who thus memorably laboured for his unhappy country. Nor has the age ennobled by such generous industry, alone had reason to rejoice in his appearance. His was the prolific pen to which we owe a very large proportion of extant Anglo-Saxon literature. Through him yet resounds a voice from our ancient Church, upon many questions in theology. Upon one, the witness borne is important above measure. It has retorted, with force irresistible, that odious imputation of a rash and indefensible disregard for antiquity by which

Romanists would fain cast obloquy upon the Reformation. Elfric brands indelibly with innovation, and in a vital point, the very principles which Cranmer found possessed of English pulpits. The venerable Anglo-Saxon thus convicts a party which claims exclusively his country's ancient faith, of an unconscious, but a perilous departure from it. He proves the teachers of a later period to have inculcated essential doctrines, even positively condemned by that honoured ancestry from whom the bulk of their endowments had descended.

His education was begun under a clergyman of slight attainments;¹ but completed at Winchester, in the celebrated school of Ethelwold.² For that popular and able prelate he ever entertained a filial reverence. Of personal communication with him he had probably enjoyed but little : his age forbidding it.³

¹ Hwilon ic wite þæt sum mæssepreost se þe min magister wæs on þam tīman hæfde þa boc Genesys ⁊ he cupe bedæle Liden understandan. *Once I knew that a mass-priest, who was my magister at the time, had the book of Genesis, and he could partly understand Latin.* (*Præfat. Ælf. in Genes.* HEPTATEUCH, &c. *Angl. Sax.* Oxon. 1698. p. 1.) This ecclesiastic, Elfric proceeds to say, used to talk of Jacob's four wives. Perhaps, in addition to his illiteracy, and his indiscreet conversation, he was not formed by temper for tuition ; and thus Elfric might have imbibed, almost in infancy, a prejudice against ordinary clergymen.

² “ Si alicui tamen displicuerit nostra interpretatio, dicat quomodo vult, nos contenti sumus, sicut didicimus in scholâ Athelwoldi, venerabilis præsulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuit.”—ÆLF. *Gramm. Præf. ad calcem Somneri, Dict. Sax. Lat. Angl.* Oxon. 1659.

³ “ Dulce namque erat ei (Ethelw.) adolescentes et juvenes semper docere, et Latinos libros Anglicè eis solvere, et regulas

A deep sense of obligation could not, however, fail of overspreading his ingenuous mind towards one who had provided him access to learning. The general current of his thoughts led him also to venerate Ethelwold. Elfric zealously espoused monastic principles. He fully shared in prevailing prejudices against married clergymen.¹ It was his opinion, evidently, that, without obedience to the rule of Benedict, high ministerial qualities were nearly hopeless. As he seems to have been eminently sober-minded, his preference for the monastic party must have rested upon some substantial ground. Nothing, probably,

grammaticæ artis, ac metricæ rationis tradere, et jocundis alloquiis ad meliora hortari." (Vita S. Ethelw. Episc. WINTON. *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict*, v. 617.) Wolstan's name is affixed to this life; but he has done little else than copy Elfric, as appears from the variations that have been supplied by the editors, at the feet of the several pages. In the passage cited, Elfric evidently speaks from recollection; and it is a lad's recollection of a kind old man. Ethelwold died in 984. The monastery of Cerne was endowed by Æthelmer, or Ailmer, earl of Cornwall, in 987. Sigeric was archbishop of Canterbury from 989 to 994, and as Elfric sent his homilies from Cerne to the primate, styling himself *monk and mass-priest*, it is plain that he must have been ordained to the presbyterate by the year 989, or soon afterwards. He was probably, therefore, born about the year 965, and consequently he might be some nineteen years old when Ethelwold died. It is most likely that he went to Cerne immediately upon the establishment of that house, in the year 987.—*Monasticon*. i. 254.

¹ "Erant autem tunc in veteri monasterio" (Winton.) "ubi cathedra pontificalis habetur, canonici nefandis scelerum moribus implicati, elatione et insolentiâ atque luxuria præventi, adeo ut nonnulli eorum dedignarentur missas suo ordine celebrare, repudiantes uxores quas illicitè duxerant, et alias accipientes, gulæ et ebrietati jugiter dediti. Quod minimè ferens sanctus vir, Adelwoldus, datâ licentiâ a Rege Eadgaro, expulit citissimè detestandos

confirmed more strongly his conviction, than Benedictine services to literature. Whatever may be thought of the system generally established by Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald, it is, indeed, indisputable, that these distinguished prelates instituted important seminaries for ecclesiastical education.¹

His early years having been employed most advantageously at Winchester, Elfric was called away by Elfege, then bishop there. Ailmer, earl of Cornwall, had recently founded an abbey at Cerne, in Dorsetshire, and he requested Elfege to select a monk fit for establishing it upon a proper footing.

blasphematores Dei de monasterio ; et adducens monachos de Abandoniâ, locavit illic, quibus ipse abbas et episcopus extitit.” (Vit. S. Ethelw. *Acta. SS. Ord. Bened.* v. 614.) This harsh language, it is fair to believe, might have been substantiated by a few cases of gross misconduct. All large bodies of men will, unhappily, supply such, especially in a semi-barbarous age. But remove such cases out of sight, and Elfric’s description will be found but little different from those libellous caricatures of clerical life, by which prejudice and malevolence have ever sought to blacken the character of ecclesiastics making no ascetic pretensions. It was a just retribution upon the monastic body, that its own eventual expulsion was promoted and defended upon like imputations of moral delinquency.

¹ “ Ab initio enim Edgari Regis, ad annum circiter millesimum singuli ferè Angliæ episcopi et abbates ex monasteriis Abbendoniensi, Glastoniensi, et Wintoniensi delecti sunt (WHARTON, *Dissert. de duobus Elfricis. Angl. Sacr.* i. 126.) “ Illo enim tempore, nulli ferè digni habebantur, qui monasteria et ecclesias seu regerent, seu instituerent, nisi qui e Dunstani, Ethelwoldi, aut Oswaldi scholis prodissent.” (*Ib.* 132.) The ascetic character earned in these admired seminaries was, no doubt, a powerful recommendation to the candidate for ecclesiastical promotion. But it must be supposed that this was commonly accompanied by more valuable qualities. In Elfric’s case it was eminently so.

Elfric was chosen; but his new duties were insufficient for a mind so active, and he sought further occupation in an undertaking of great popular utility. Usage and authority demanded a sermon from the clergy on every Sunday.¹ Satisfactorily to answer such a call is far from easy to minds highly cultivated, and sufficiently provided with literary appliances. Among a priesthood, slightly educated, and with a very limited access to books, the weekly sermon must have often pained a hearer of any information, or of more than ordinary ability. Elfric kindly resolved upon providing a remedy for this evil. He selected and freely translated from those established authorities, Austin, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus, and occasionally Haymo, forty homilies on subjects chiefly scriptural. This course was deemed sufficient for a year. The volume being completed, he sent it to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, especially calling his attention to the great care taken for avoiding heresy and error. By this prelate these discourses were highly approved, and their use authorised. The learned monk attested his gratification by transmitting forty more homilies to Sigeric. These are of a more legendary character; but again challenge a rigid inquiry into the soundness of their doctrine.² They were greeted with the

¹ Rihƿ 1ƿ þ ppeoƿtaƿ ælce Sunnan-dæge. folce bodian (*Sinodalia Decreta*. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 121. f. 29.) *Right is that priests preach to the folk every Sunday.*

² "Ego, Ælfricus, alumnus Athelwoldi, benevoli et venerabilis præsulis, salutem exopto Domino Archiepiscopo Sigerico in Domino. — Nec ubique transtulimus verbum ex verbo, sed sen-

same success as the former series. Another literary labour of great utility, was a Latin grammar, compiled from Priscian, and with Ælfric's usual patriotism, in his native tongue.¹ Before this undertaking, probably, his diocesan, Wulfsine, bishop of Sherborne,² had requested him to prepare a summary

sum ex sensu, cavendo tamen diligentissimè deceptivos errores, ne inveniremur aliquâ hæresi seducti, seu fallaciâ fuscati. Hos namque auctores in hâc explanatione sumus secuti, videlicet Augustinum Hipponensum, Hieronimum, Bedam, Gregorium, Smaragdum, et aliquando Haymonem: horundemque auctoritas ab omnibus Catholicis libentissimè suscipitur. Quadraginta sententias in isto libro posuimus, credentes hoc sufficere posse per annum fidelibus, si integrè eis a ministris Domini recitentur in ecclesiâ. Precor modo obnixè Almitatem tuam, mitissime pater, Sigerice, ut digneris corrigere, per tuam industriam, si aliquos nævos malignæ hæresis, aut nebulosæ fallaciæ, in nostrâ interpretatione reperies; et ascribatur dehinc hic codicillus tuæ auctoritati, non utilitati nostræ despicibilis personæ." (HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 153). "Quia nostrum studium nimium laudasti, gratanter illam interpretationem suscipiens, festinavimus hunc sequentem librum, sicuti omnipotentis Dei gratia nobis dictavit, interpretare. Igitur in anteriore opere ordinavimus XL. sermones; in isto vero non minor numerus sententiarum invenitur. Perlegat, quæso, Benignitas vestra hanc nostram interpretationem, quemadmodum et priorem, et dijudicet si fidelibus Catholicis habenda est, an abjicienda."—*Ib.* 157.

¹ "Ego Ælfricus, ut minus sapiens, has excerpciones de Prisciano minore, vel majore, vobis puerulis tenellis ad vestram linguam transferre studui." (*Ælf. Præf. Gramm.* SOMNER.) An ancient MS. of this Grammar in the Library of St. John's College, Oxford, appears to be entitled *Ælfrici Præsulis Grammatica*. (HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 104.) Hence a recent author concludes that Ælfric did not write the Grammar until he had attained a station of eminence. He considers him to have written it soon after his advancement to the abbocy of Peterborough. *Ancient Hist. Engl. and Fr. exemplified.* Lond. 1830. p. 66.

² Great obscurity has attended the name of Wulfsine; but a

of admonition and information most needed by the clergy, and suitable for addressing to them. Obedience to this request produced a celebrated piece, yet extant, resembling the episcopal charges of later times. It illustrates, largely, existing religious usages, and is particularly valuable, because it establishes, incontrovertibly that ancient England and modern Rome are utterly at variance in an essential article of faith. A similar piece, happily extant also, afterwards proceeded from Elfric's pen, and it commands attention by a contradiction, equally strong, to the capital article of Romish belief. This interesting document apparently was prepared for Wolstan archbishop of York.¹ Other distinguished

charter, published by Wharton (*Angl. Sacr.* i. 170), renders it sufficiently plain that he was bishop of Sherborne about the close of the tenth century. This instrument, dated 998, under Ethelred, authorises Wulfine to settle a community of monks around his cathedral of Sherborne. Elfric is known to have resided in Dorsetshire about that time, and Wulfine's reformation at Sherborne was exactly such as might be expected from one who looked up to him for advice. In addition to these evidences of Wulfine's identity, Wharton met with a MS. history of Westminster, by John Flete, in which that writer relates, on the authority of Sulcard, a monk living fifty years after the time, that Wulfine was made bishop of Sherborne in 980, and so continued until about 998. (*Ib.* 132). Elfric's epistle to Wulfine has been printed, more or less completely, by Lambarde, Spelman, and Wilkins, and it has been translated by Johnson. In it occurs one of the shorter testimonies against transubstantiation, printed by Foxe and L'Isle.

¹ There were two Wolstans, archbishops of York. The former died in 956, the latter in 1023, after something more than twenty years' possession of the see. (*Angl. Sacr.* i. 133. J. STUBBS, *X. Script.* 1700). To this latter, only, could Elfric have written.

persons naturally became desirous of benefitting by industry so able, pious, and unwearied. Elfric was, accordingly, led into his various translations from Scripture. He wrote, besides, a life of Ethelwold,¹ a glossary, a body of monastic discipline, and other pieces.² The learned energy of his earlier years has, indeed, rarely been surpassed; and although, like other Anglo-Saxons, he wrote but little quite original, yet, considering the time of his appearance, he has fully earned a foremost rank in the literature of England.

In his epistle, as extant in the Bodleian Library (*MSS. Junii*. 121. f. 111), Elfric only speaks of himself as “a brother to mass-priests.” Hence might be thought to have written this epistle soon after the year 1002. But in the prologue to the two epistles published by Wilkins (*Leges, Angl. Sax.* Lond. 1721. p. 166), he designates himself “abbot.” Of these two epistles, the second is the beginning of that in the Bodleian Library, mentioned above. If he really were abbot, when that piece was written, this must be referred, most probably, to some date after 1005.

¹ His *Life of Ethelwold* is said, in the preface, to have been written twenty years after that prelate’s death: an event occurring in the middle of 984. It must have been written, therefore, either in the year 1004 or in the earlier part of 1005. It is dedicated to Kenulf, bishop of Winchester, who was advanced to that see in 1005, and who died in July, 1006. Elfric was now “abbot;” and he seems to have been made abbot of Peterborough in 1005.

² In the face of Elfric’s voluminous authorship, and of several Anglo-Saxon pieces from other pens, it is amusing to read the following extract from Hardouin’s *Chronologia Vet. Test.* (Amst. 1700, pp. 34, 35), in the Preface to Hickes’s *Thesaurus* (p. xxiii): *At Saxonica quæ in quibusdam dubiæ (ut Coptica) fidei monumenta extat, nihil aliud quam Germanica illius ævi est, quo sunt hæc (Coptica) exarata characteribus ab artifice excogitatis, diversis certe ab his, quibus Offa rex suos olim nummos inscripsit, qui sunt omnino Latini, quales ii quibus id nomen hic exhibemus. Ejus autem linguæ est Saxonica Ælfrici nomine homilia de*

The history of this distinguished scholar is, however, involved in thick obscurity. To the scanty particulars already given from incidental passages in his own works, must be added, from the same source, that he was a priest and a monk, and that he became eventually both abbot and bishop.¹ Elfric was not merely, therefore, an industrious man of letters, valued by none but students, and even known to few besides. His transcendent qualities were duly acknowledged in professional elevation. Yet neither the abbey over

Eucharistia, Ratramni sensu stilo, atque ipso subinde sermone conscripta, hoc est, hæretico. At Ælfricus non Anglicum, Saxoncumve nomen est, sed Hebræum, DEUS REDEMPTOR. Nam אל Deus est: quod nomen quoniam nihil interest, utrum ÆL an AL efferas, ideo et ÆLFRICUS et ALFRICUS in libris scribitur. פרק redimere est ex Vulgato interprete, Ps. cxxxv. 24, quem tum ob peritiam viri singularem, tum aliis de causis, talium nominum architecti sequuntur. This curious passage, Hickes very truly observes, has as many errors as lines; for neither are Anglo-Saxon monuments few, nor of dubious faith, nor written in any characters invented for deception; nor are the characters on Offa's coins *altogether* Latin (if they were, it would not follow that MSS. must be written in the same), nor is Elfric a factitious word, coined by some Hebraist, intent upon imposition, but a Saxon proper name, borne by many individuals of that nation. This whole tissue of error and absurdity is, however, well worthy of notice, as a proof of the despairing embarrassment with which Romanists encounter Elfric, conscious that he overthrows the main peculiarity of their creed.

¹ "O, ye mass-priests, *my brethen!*" are the opening words in Elfric's epistle, prepared, as it is considered, for Archbishop Wolstan. *Ælfric*, munuc; *Ælfric*, monk. (*Prefat. in Genes.*) *Ælfric*, abbot; *Ælfric*, abbot. (*De Vet. Test.* edit. L'Isle.) "Elfricum demum episcopali dignitate auctum esse constat ex epistola ejus MS. in Collegio Corporis Christi Cantab. quæ inscribitur; *Elfrici Episcopi ad jam nunc ordinatos.*"—*Ang. Sacr.* i. 33.

which he presided, nor the see that he occupied, can be named with absolute certainty. Contemporary bishops and abbots, most of them, probably, useful and able in their day, but without any particular claim upon posterity, are accurately commemorated in existing records. Inquiries into Elfric's preferments demand research; and will, at last, be requited by nothing more satisfactory than strong probabilities. The following appears to be an outline of his real history. His revered master, Ethelwold, had taken especial interest in re-establishing those future glories of England's fen district, the abbeys of Peterborough, Ely, and Thorney, ruined by the Danes;¹ converting them, of course, into regular Benedictine houses. Elfric, it is hardly doubtful, gained his title of abbot from the monastery first named.² He there seems

¹ BROMTON, X. *Script.* 868.

² Wharton supposes him to have been abbot of Winchester. He grounds this opinion upon his dedication to Kenulf, in which he calls himself "an abbot and a Winchester scholar, *Wintoniensem alumnum.*" Hence Wharton thinks that his education and abbacy must be referred to the same place; and he is confirmed in this belief by Stubbs, who designates Alfric, archbishop of York, *Wintoniensis præpositus*. (*Acta PP. Ebor. X. Script.* 1700.) This designation, however, is hardly sufficiently precise for a positive conclusion. The author of *Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle*, says of Wharton, "No man knew better than he, if he had taken time, that the old monastery, or cathedral church of Winchester, of which he says Elfric was, beyond all doubt, abbot, never had an abbot, *nomine*, abbot; but, as well before Ethelwold's reform as afterwards, was governed by the bishop in place of an abbot." The principle of this is distinctly stated in Ethelred's charter to Wulfine: "Et quia mos minime—ut in episcopali sede, abbas constituatur; fiat ipse episcopus eis abbas et pater." (*Angl. Sacr.* i. 170.) In the ex-

to have had a very narrow escape from a victorious party of invading Danes. Having succeeded in reaching the royal presence, Ethelred sent him, in charge of Emma the queen, over to Normandy, her native country.¹ After some stay upon the continent, Elfric returned home; and his unquestionable superiority recommended him to the discerning eye of Canute, then occupant of the throne.² Under that fortunate

tract also from the *Life of Ethelwold*, already used (p. 225), that prelate is said, most probably in Elfric's own words, to have been *abbas et episcopus* of the monks whom he transferred from Abingdon to Winchester. In November 1005, Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, died. Elphege, bishop of Winchester, succeeded him; and Kenulf, abbot of Peterborough, to whom Elfric dedicated his *Life of Ethelwold*, was advanced to the see of Winchester. The recent writer cited above, to whom inquirers into Elfric's history are much obliged, has very reasonably concluded (p. 64) that he was immediately preferred to the abbacy of Peterborough. If he had not been abbot there, it seems strange that his corpse should have been carried thither for interment; and the probability is, that he was the immediate successor of his friend and patron, Kenulf.

¹ *Sax. Chr.* 191. He is there called *Ælfsige*, as the text stands; but the recent author, cited in the last note, conjectures that the name was designedly substituted for *se*, the Saxon definite article masculine. For the particulars of his escape, see *INGULPH*. (*Script. post Bed.* 507.) As the passage appears there, the transactions might seem to have occurred in 1018; but then they are mixed up with the name of Sweyne, under whom, in fact, they took place. Sweyne, however, died in 1014; Elfric's escape from Peterborough, and mission to Normandy with Queen Emma, happened in 1013. Ingulph, who relates the particulars of his escape, does not name him; but, probably, the text may not appear there exactly as Ingulph left it.

² Tu, Sacerdos egregie *Ælfrica*, nostri Regis C. obtutibus semper assistis, et secreta ejusdem consilia a te non sunt abscondita, sed per tuæ industriam sapientiæ discernendo rimantur." *Facun-*

and able Dane, we can trace him to the archbishopric of York; with which he probably held the bishopric of Worcester during several years.¹ He died at Southwell in 1051, and he was buried in the abbey of Peterborough.²

That such facts should be unascertainable by

dissimo Sacerd. Ælfr. ad calcem Somneri Dict. p. 53.) Wharton says, very truly, that *King C.* could be no other than *King Canute*. (*Angl. Sacr. i. 134.*) Ælfric's promotion to the see of York under that prince is, indeed, strong evidence of his favour with him.

¹ One MS. of the *Saxon Chronicle* has, under the year 1023, *Her forðferde Wulfstan archeb. 7 fenz Ælfric to. Here departed Wulfstan archb. and Ælfric took to.* (203.) What did he take to? Undoubtedly to the see of York. But Wulfstan held Worcester also, as had his immediate predecessors. Worcester cathedral was converted into a Benedictine monastery, which York was not; and, accordingly, the archbishops, being Benedictine monks, were allowed to hold *in commendam* a see which offered them a cathedral where they could reside in their proper character of abbot. It must appear probable that these precedents operated in Ælfric's case; and that, if the clause cited from the *Saxon Chronicle* had been entire, we should find that he *took to* both sees. Existing catalogues of the Worcester bishops might, however, lead to a different conclusion. But there are difficulties in these which leave room for conjecturing that Ælfric really held Worcester until the year 1034.—See *Anc. Hist. Engl. and Fr.* 89.

² STUBBS, *X. Script.* 1700. A MS. *Consuetudinary of the Monastery of Peterborough*, in the Lambeth library, has, accordingly, the following entry in the calendar: *Die IX. Calend. Februarii. Depositio Dompni Elfrici Archiepiscopi.* (WHARTON, *Angl. Sacr. i. 134.*) The sacrilegious violence and fanaticism which disgraced the interval between Charles the First's troubles and his son's restoration, brought to light accidentally, in the cathedral of Peterborough, a chest or shrine, about three feet long, and containing human bones, inscribed *Elfricus*. This great man's remains, therefore, had been thought at one time worthy of translation, as it was called. (*Anc. Hist. Engl. and Fr.* 456.) Their original coffin must have been of larger dimensions.

direct testimony, is among the more striking of historical problems. It is true that, fifteen years after Ælfric's death, Normandy gained firm possession of his native land, and reduced the language in which most of his works were patriotically written, to a vulgar dialect which superior families disdained. Authors, however, arose, diligent in examining the national records, and in forming them into materials for compositions of their own; especially such of them as were favourable to the monastic cause. Ælfric had this recommendation. He was repeatedly employed in regulating monasteries.¹ Though gifted with a vigorous understanding, he had even imbibed a firm and zealous faith in the miraculous privileges of relics.² There were two writers in early Norman times particularly led by the nature of their pursuits, and the general bent of their minds, to preserve the incidents of such a person's life. Neither of these

¹ "In cod. Benedictino, quem asservat Col. S. Ben. seu CC. apud Cant. sub finem Evangelii secundum Matthæum, habentur sequentia, *Ego Ælfricus scripsi hunc librum in Monasterio Bathonio, et dedi Brihtwoldo Preposito.* (MARESCALL, *Observ. in Vers. Angl. Sax.* 490.) Wharton conjectures, with great probability, that Ælfric was sent to Bath by Elfege, bishop of Winchester, who had been the first abbot of that monastery; and that he might have been sent to other monasteries.—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 133.

² Ælfric's homilies afford many proofs of this. His mind, accordingly, was eagerly bent upon the acquisition of relics, even while he lived with the queen in Normandy, an exile from his abbey. He found the abbey of Bonneval in great distress from the plunder which it had recently undergone, and hence willing to sell the body of St. Florentine. He bought this, all but the head, for five hundred pounds, and eventually lodged it at Peterborough.—*Sax. Chr.* 192.

writers might seem to have had any certain knowledge of his existence. One of them, namely Osbern, mentions incidentally an Elfric Bata, to whose impious activity he assigns a temporary cessation of the miracles expected by worshippers at Dunstan's tomb. The spirit of that sainted archbishop, we are told, was under the necessity of putting Bata to flight, before it could continue its accustomed deeds of mercy.¹ The other ancient author is William of Malmesbury, the great luminary of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical antiquity; and he speaks of an Elfric, who was both an abbot and a prelate, and an able industrious translator. But he writes as if he had never examined his works. Their fame, he does not dissemble, had reached his ears; but, with exemplary caution, he expresses a doubt whether, from lapse of time, it might not have been greater than the pieces

¹ A cripple, Osbern says, having vainly sought relief at Dunstan's tomb, was returning homeward in despair. At a resting-place the saint appeared to him in his sleep, and said, "Non poteram his diebus requiem corporis mei visitare, nec præsentiā meam filiis ibidem manentibus exhibere. Nam ecclesiam Dei Elfricus, cogno-mento Bata, exheredare tentavit." (De Mirac. S. Dunst. Auctore, OSBERNO MONACHO. *Acta. SS. Ord. Benedict.* v. 692.) Of course the saint announced himself now at liberty, and desired the cripple to return; who, obeying, found relief. The fact is, that there was an Elfric Bata, a disciple of the great Elfric, but a far inferior man; who made some additions to a colloquy of his illustrious master, for the use of boys. (HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 104, 105.) Osbern's object in detailing the legend as he has, could hardly be any other than to connect the name of Elfric with known inferiority, and to brand it in some undefined way with religious evil. It appears, however, from Elfric's addresses to Sigeric, that he was particularly careful to avoid the least imputation of heresy.

merited.¹ Yet the Elfric, upon whom, apparently, Malmesbury had fallen by mistake, though something anterior to the most illustrious bearer of that name, was only just before him. He was only removed by a very few generations from Malmesbury himself. It is, therefore, scarcely credible that a man should have grown up in bookish habits from childhood, as, probably, every literary man has; this, too, at a time when books were few; and yet should hardly have examined a voluminous national writer, of whose high character he was well aware,—one also whom even his own shewing would place at no considerable distance from himself. Such cases naturally lead to a suspicion of unfairness. It is not easy to acquit either Osbern or Malmesbury of a deliberate intention to suppress the memory of Elfric, and to bury his very name under a mass of hopeless uncertainty.

¹ “ Eum peritum literarum, præsertimque elegantissimum interpretem, *nisi fallax tradit vetustas*. Elfricus sanè cum grandævus esset, in episcopum Cridiensem altatus, vix. IV. annis superfuit. Reliquit aliquantos codices, non exigua ingenii monumenta, *Vitam Sancti Adelwoldi*, antequam eam Wolstanus operosius concinnaret, *Abbreviationem Passionis Sancti Edmundi*; libros multos ex Latino in patrium sermonem versos.” (W. MALMESB. de vita Aldhelm. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 33.) It is unquestionable that the author thus described was the great Elfric. But we know, from himself, that his *Life of Ethelwold* could not have been written before the year 1004. Now Wharton makes it appear that Elfric, bishop of Crediton, succeeded to that see about 977. By Malmesbury’s own account, then, he must have died about 981. (*Angl. Sacr.* i. 129.) In the *Monasticon* (p. 8), we read that “ Elfric, bishop, abbot, and monk of Glastonbury,” died in 988. This is equally irreconcilable with the known date of the *Life of Ethelwold*. Godwin (*De Præsul.*) makes Elfric, bishop of Crediton, to have died in 999. But even this will not do.

For this disingenuous policy, a reason may be readily conjectured. Osbern was the humble friend of Lanfranc, who found a passport to professional distinction in the controversy with Berenger. He fails not, accordingly, to introduce, among his histories of Anglo-Saxon times, legendary tales of miracles wrought in proof of transubstantiation.¹ Malmesbury, too, had taken decidedly the infection from that new theology which England received with her Norman conquerors. Hence his indignant zeal extorted from him an attack equally ludicrous and important upon the venerated character of Raban Maur.² Now Elfric's eucharistic doctrine and that of Raban are identical. Both of them wrote, after Paschasius Radbert had astonished studious men by his portentous novelty; and both, accordingly, have left such language upon record as only controversy commonly calls forth. Elfric's vocation, as homilist for the people, obliged him upon occasions to furnish lengthened, clear, and forcible expositions of the eucharist. In discharging this duty, he has freely used not only language from earlier authors unfavourable to transubstantiation, but also he has embodied, for the use of ordinary congregations, the substance of Ratramn's famous controversial piece. It is no wonder that

¹ A legend of sacramental wine, sensibly transubstantiated into blood by Odo, may be seen in Osbern's *Life of that archbishop*. (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 82.) A like story, as to both the bread and wine, is related of Dunstan by this author. (*SURIUS*, iii. 330.) Such tales are not among the least striking evidences that Lanfranc's adherents were sadly embarrassed by the prevalence of a belief very different from their patron's.

² See *Bampt. Lect.* 413.

Lanfranc's admirers looked upon such an author with disgust and despair. Their master's fame rested upon endeavours to make his own eucharistic belief appear that of all Christendom in every age. Elfric proved not only that England, whose orthodoxy was unquestioned, had entertained no such doctrine, but even that she had expressly and intentionally contradicted it;¹ and Elfric died only fifteen years before the Conquest. Colour for charging him with innovation, there was none whatever. The century before him had produced Erigena, one of Radbert's earliest and most formidable opponents; yet the friend of Alfred. Erigena's doctrine, too, might be connected satisfactorily with Alcuin and Bede; only controversy had won for it an energy, breadth, and precision, for which earlier scholars had found no occasion. Thus Elfric merely finished, but with a

¹ To well-informed English Romanists, Elfric still occasions great embarrassment. Dr. Lingard, in the notes to his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, (note M, p. 576, Fr. transl.) wishes to dispose of Elfric, by labouring to make it appear that his doctrine is not irreconcilable with Romanism, and that he was a writer "of inferior merit," who lived when Anglo-Saxon intelligence had seriously declined. Upon the former of these representations, the *Paschal Homily* especially, may be left by Protestants to speak for itself. Against an imputation of "inferior merit," Elfric's numerous works are a triumphant defence. It is true that when he lived, the brightest age of Anglo-Saxon literature was over; but this national misfortune certainly was no great impediment to his own improvement. Nor did it affect his doctrine; he explained the eucharist in strict unison with all the most illustrious Anglo-Saxon divines. Undoubtedly he is more clear, full, and forcible. But then Radbert had written since Bede and Alcuin. Hence controversy had suggested and demanded language for which earlier theologians found no occasion.

vigour equalled, probably, by Erigena alone, that unyielding array of testimony against Lanfranc's new divinity which echoes from the whole theological school of ancient England. Against an author so recent, and in such full possession of the popular ear, discretion forbade a direct assault. But his unpalatable doctrine was conveyed in Saxon,—a language with which Anglo-Normans, of any distinction, were unacquainted. Hence, after a few years, no cultivated mind was ever likely to be awakened by hearing any of his homilies. Books were few; and such as Elfric left might shortly be rendered useless by refraining from translating them into Latin. The despised populace might imperceptibly be weaned from his opinions by retrenching such parts of the customary sermon as had grown unfashionable.¹ Authors might learn that great men, wishing him to be forgotten, were likely to be pleased by seeing his very name involved in obloquy and confusion. Such was the policy pursued; and being favoured by a prevailing disregard for Anglo-Saxon literature, even by general ignorance of the character in which it was preserved, Elfric's memory became all but wholly lost.

¹ For the manner in which the famous *Paschal Homily* has been treated in the C. C. C. C. MS. 162. see *Bampt. Lect.* 428. A like liberty was taken with the *Homily for St. Peter's Day*, also printed in that volume (p. 126). Among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (VESPASIAN, D. 14, f. 122), is found the beginning of that homily; the part, namely, that details the privileges of St. Peter in the words of Scripture. But all the latter part, beginning with "Bede, the Expositor," is omitted. In this latter part, however, are several passages unfavourable to the papal pretensions.

When, accordingly, the monastic libraries were dispersed, and Englishmen eagerly inquired into the language and religion of their distant ancestry, they were at a loss to identify the principal author that they had recovered.

A presumption in favour of Elfric's alleged influence with Canute arises from many of that prince's acts. The Danish conqueror revived a taste for pilgrimages to Rome by undertaking one himself.¹ He was a liberal patron to the monastic order.² Under him was holden a legislative assembly at Winchester, which confirmed churches in their established inviolability, and re-enacted the penalties imposed under Edgar for withholding ecclesiastical dues.³ Another of these laws displays that anxiety for clerical celibacy that distinguished Elfric. An unmarried clergyman was to enjoy the privileges of a thane.⁴ In a different series of Canute's laws, is one proving the reparation of churches to have been a burthen imposed by the legislature upon property generally, and not exclusively upon the tythes. "All people," it is declared, "are bound of right to assist in repairing the church."⁵

¹ In 1031. (*Sax. Chr.* 206.) Malmesbury's date is the same, as he places it in the fifteenth year of his reign. Ingulph places it a year earlier; but Mr. Wheaton says that the Danish chronologists seem to have conclusively proved its occurrence in 1027.—*Hist. of the Northmen*, 327, Note.

² INGULPH. MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 507, 41.

³ LL. Canut. R. cann. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. SPELM. i. 544. WILK. i. 302.

⁴ *Ib.* can. 6. SPELM. i. 543. WILK. i. 301.

⁵ To cýric-bote ꝥceal eall þole fýlþtan mid rihte. "Ad fanum reficiendum omnes quidem jure debebant." (LL. Canut. can. 63. LAMBARDE *de Priscis Anglorum Legibus*. (Cantab. 1644, p. 121.)

In the same series appears a strict prohibition of all pagan worship and usages.¹

The brief reigns of Canute's two sons, Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute, afford no materials for ecclesiastical history. Nor is it much otherwise with the succeeding reign of Edward the Confessor. England was naturally rejoiced in finding herself again under a prince of her ancient dynasty, and hence regarded Edward with fond partiality. His personal qualities, indeed, were worthy of the people's love. He was a mild and well-intentioned sovereign, who displayed upon the throne those dispositions that are most estimable in private life. Among monastic writers he has gained high celebrity. They could not fail of extolling that munificence which founded the noble Abbey of Westminster. Their eulogies were justly due to a monarch who made religion popular by the strictness of his own example. Their prejudices were highly gratified by the spectacle of a distinguished married man avoiding commerce with his wife. They were not likely to reason that even if this abstinence had ever been rigidly maintained, personal aversion or mere constitution might

Johnson has appended (*sub. an.* 1018,) the following note to his translation: "This law which is omitted by Sir H. S." (Spelman), "shews that the reparation of churches was devolved on the people sooner than is commonly thought." The preamble states that the body of statutes in which this occurs, was enacted in a *Witenagemot* holden at Winchester, at Christmas. It is said that Canute *mid his piteana geþeahte geped: decreed with his senators' advice.* (LAMB. 97.) He seems to have holden a legislative council at Winchester in 1021.

¹ LL. Canut. R. can. 5. SPELM. i. 553. WILK. i. 306.

be the real cause of it. Nor did it harmonise with cloistered habits to remark, that if no such impediment intervened Edward's conduct was any thing rather than wise and patriotic. He ought surely to have felt some anxiety for securing his country against the miseries of a disputed succession. In him, however, was merely discerned a sainted virgin king, fitted for occupying a conspicuous station among the heroes of monastic story, and for stamping credibility upon some of those legendary tales which delighted a superstitious age. But, although the Confessor stands conspicuously religious among English kings, he does not make much figure as an ecclesiastical legislator. There are, indeed, certain laws relating to the church which pass under his name. These, however, were compiled after William had conquered England; and they seem rather to be authorised statements of laws in force while Edward reigned, than enactments in his legislature. They confirm the church's immunities¹ and claims to tithes,² adding those upon profits in trading.³ They likewise confirm the papal claim for Peter-pence. But they make no mention of the customary assessments for public worship. One of them is remarkable for kindly declaring that the Jews are under the king's protection.⁴ Of that most memorable among nations great numbers had recently

¹ LL. S. Edw. R. et Conf. can. 2, 6, 7. SPELM. i. 619, 620. WILK. i. 310, 311.

² *Ib.* can. 8, 9.

³ "De negotiationibus, et omnibus rebus quas dederit Dominus, decima pars ei reddenda est, qui novem partes simul cum decimâ largitur."—Can. 9. SPELM. i. 621. WILK. i. 311.

⁴ Can. 22.

fled into western countries before the fanatic fury of Mahometanism; and it is pleasing to know that England did not deny them an asylum. Another of the Confessor's laws provides outlawry and confiscation as penalties of usury.¹

Edward's Norman education had rendered him almost a foreigner,² and indiscreetly partial to the French. The numbers of them whom he patronised gave a powerful influence to their language and manners. To the Confessor's reign, accordingly, may be traced that prevailing affectation of continental usages which Englishmen have long ranked among their national weaknesses. The king probably spoke French more freely than his native tongue. His Norman courtiers, generally, must have been unable to master the Anglo-Saxon. Hence, that noble idiom was branded with vulgarity; and thus even before the Conquest English gentlemen used their humbler countrymen to regard the speaking of French as a mark of superior breeding.³ One of Edward's Norman friends was Robert, a monk of Jumieges, to whom he had owed some obligations while in exile. Him he preferred to the see of London, and afterwards to that of Canterbury. Other sees were also filled by foreigners. At length national antipathies and envy being effectively aroused, a powerful combination drove these adventurers back to the continent.⁴

¹ Can. 23.

² "Penè in Gallicum transierat."—INGULPH, *Script. post Bed.* 509.

³ "Gallicum idioma omnes magnates in suis curiis, *tanquam magnum gentilitium* loqui."—*Ib.*

⁴ MALMESB. *Ib.* 116.

Canterbury was now bestowed upon Stigand, bishop of Winchester; a see which he continued to hold, thereby committing, as monastic writers represent, a very grave offence. They might seem to have forgotten that Dunstan's character is liable to a like imputation.¹ Stigand, however, was one of the many distinguished Anglo-Saxons whom William found it desirable to dispossess. Hence, writers who sought Norman patronage, are naturally anxious to paint him in unfavourable colours. They are, however, driven to admit his wisdom and efficiency.² His primacy deserves notice, because it was exercised under circumstances even then unusual, and eventually represented as fatal to the powers of a metropolitan. Stigand never presented himself at the papal court to sue for a pall. Upon occasions he seems to have used one his predecessor left behind:³ or it may be that he wore one sent to him, during a contest for the papacy by a party who failed in maintaining his ground.⁴ Certainty upon these points, if

¹ Dunstan held Worcester with London.

² " Archiepiscopatum septendecim annis tantis honoribus adjungeret: alias sanè nec imprudens, nec inefficax."—MALMESB. *Script. post Bed.* 116.

³ MS. profession of Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, made to Lanfranc, cited by Inett (*Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* ch. i. 387.) Remigius had been consecrated by Stigand; and Lanfranc insisted upon a new profession, because he maintained that Stigand had been excommunicated by the pope for his contumacy. This, however, is nothing in favour of the papal cause, for it is clear that whatever Rome might have done against Stigand, England paid no attention to it.

⁴ Inett (p. 384) examines this relation at considerable length, and shews it to be far from clear as to the particular pope, or pre-

attainable, would be of little or no importance. But it is otherwise with Stigand's indisputable reception as primate. In this, England manifested a feeling of ecclesiastical independence which may surprise those who have hastily assumed her entire dependence upon Rome from Augustine to the Reformation.

Edward's unfortunate successor, Harold, had, previously to his brief possession of the crown, founded the noble monastery of Waltham. To this act of liberality, however, he does not seem to have been tempted by any partiality for the Benedictine order: he arranged his establishment for secular canons.¹ The monks, therefore, had not triumphed over all opposition. The ancient economy of an English religious house yet found powerful friends; and the two rival systems must have been often warmly contrasted with each other, down to the very edge of Norman times. Facilities were thus afforded, obviously, for William's enterprise. The monks and canons were not anxious merely for the prevalence of their opinions respectively; they were struggling also for the endowments which each other possessed: hence was extensively nurtured a disposition for political changes; a numerous party ever seeking adherents for them, in the hope of gaining some advantage hitherto unattainable.

tender, who is said to have complimented Stigand with a pall. The matter is, however, of but little importance on any account. The truth, most probably, appears in the profession of Remigius.

¹ The abbey of Waltham was founded in 1062; namely, four years before Harold's obtainment of the throne. (*Monast.* ii. 13.) In 1117 regular canons were substituted for the seculars under papal authority.—*Ib.*

Upon doctrines prevalent during the last period of Anglo-Saxon religious history, Elfric's remains afford much interesting information. They prove, forcibly and clearly, that the ancient Church of England never wavered in her invaluable testimony against transubstantiation.¹ They shew satisfactorily

¹ On þam halgan hufle ve þiceað Ġurter lichaman· fe hlaf iſ foðlice hiſ lichama gartlice· þeah þe fe ungelæneða-þær ge lȳfan ne cunne. (Serm. de Lege Dei. Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. ii. 4—6. p. 175.) *In the holy housel we receive Crist's body : the loaf is truly his body spiritually, though the unlearned know not how to believe it.* This passage is evidently the key to testimony from antiquity cited in favour of transubstantiation. The gross and irreligious identified completely the sacramental elements with ordinary food. Divines taught that consecration converted them *spiritually* into Christ's body and blood. Such conversion, however, applies to *spiritual* receiving alone. This ancient homily, therefore, teaches the same doctrine as the catechism of the reformed church of England. In this we learn that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received *by the faithful* in the Lord's Supper."

With this view agrees the following passage from an ancient piece, *De Ecclesiasticis Gradibus*. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 121, f. 39.) Se mæsse-pweort getacnað Ġurte rȳlfne· ȳ þ altære getacnað Ġurter rode· ȳ feo oflete getacnað Ġurter lichaman· ȳ pin ȳ pæter on þam calice gerputelað þa haligneſſa þe of Ġurter ſiðan utfeopan· þ pær bloð ȳ pæter. *The mass-priest betokeneth Crist himself, and the altar betokeneth Crist's rood (cross), and the oflet betokeneth Crist's body, and wine and water in the chalice manifesteth the holiness which from Crist's side outflowed, that was blood and water.* In this passage, the word *oflet* comes from the Latin *oblata*, which is *ab offerendo*, and denotes a small cake made for the sacrament, and as yet, according to Du Cange, unconsecrated. He cites Bromton for this opinion, who speaking of Hugh de St. Victor's death, in the time of King Stephen, says, that on his desire of the eucharist, "*simplicem oblatam non consecratam attulerunt.*" (*X. Script.* 1035.) This is hardly sufficient, perhaps, to limit strictly the use of *oblata* even so late as Stephen's reign. At all events a believer in transubstantiation was likely to see the danger of saying that the sacramental bread in any state

that she did not hold such opinions upon St. Peter's alleged privileges, and upon papal jurisdiction, as Romanists have maintained in later years.¹ They are irreconcilable with that fascinating lure, provided by scholastic ingenuity, which would make mere attrition ample medicine for the soul. Elfric taught the people, from St. Jerome, that very doctrine which Tyndale subsequently recommended as a sound view of sacerdotal absolution.² A belief, however, in transubstantiation, and an implicit reliance upon absolution, are the corner-stones of modern Romanism. William the Conqueror, therefore, found established a religious system, different essentially from that which Henry the Eighth overthrew. Externally, the Church indeed had undergone no very striking change: the Anglo-Saxon ritual was nearly identical with that which prevailed until the Reformation. Ancient England was habituated to confession; it was her usage to offer prayers and eucharistic services for the dead: she was trained in a superstitious veneration for relics. In Elfric's time, and long before, she was encouraged in paying religious honours to images. Her great homilist entertained some obscure speculations upon purgatorial fires.³ He

“*betokeneth* Christ's body.” There might, however, be room for doubt upon such subjects, were not Elfric's Paschal Homily, and his two epistles, irresistible evidence that neither he nor the church of England in his day, held the eucharistic belief of modern Rome.

¹ See *Bampt. Lect.* Sermon. iii. p. 135, and the preceding homily.

² *Ib.* p. 300.

³ *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere preter id quod positum est, quod est xpus ihs.* Ðæt 17. ne mæg nan mann lecgan oðerne 37nunð-peal on þære halgan 3elaðunge buton þære þæri 3elæd 17. þ 17

lends occasional authority, as it seems, to the invo-

Hælenð Crīst. He is se gṛund-peal þæne gartlican cýncan: gpa gpa pe eop ær fædon. Se apōrtol cwæð: gpa hpa gpa getimbnað ofer þisum gṛund-pealle gold: oððe seolf. oððe deorþýrðe rtana. oððe tneopu: gfreap: oððe ceaf: anef gehwýlceſ mannes weorc bið-gputel. Godes dæg hi gertutelað: forðan þe he bið on fýne ætopoð: 7 þ fýr afandað hwýle hecra ælceſ weorc bið. Gif hwær getimbṛung þurh-punað 7 riðſtent þam fýne: þonne underfeð se wýrhta his eðlean æt Gode his weorceſ. Gif hwær weorc forþýrnoð: he hæfð þone hearu: 7 bið gpa þeah gehealden þurh þ fýr. Ðar forð pe ne maƷon buton micelne fýrhtu tṛahtnian. Ðurh þ gold pe underſtandað geleafan: 7 Ʒoð ingehýð: þurh þ seolf: rihtlice gṛnæce: 7 getingniſſe on Godes lare: þurh þa deorþýrðan rtaneſ halige mihta: 7 se þe þýlic weorc getimbnað on Godes geladunge: ne mæg þ fýr on domeſ dæge his getimbṛunge fornuman: forðan þe þ fýr ne deſað þam Ʒoðum: þeah þe hit tuteƷnie þa unrihtſum. Gold 7 seolf: 7 deorþýrðe rtanaſ beoð on fýne afandoðe: ac hi ne beoð gpa þeah mid þam fýne fornumene ſpa eac þa þe habbað Ʒode weorc: ne þoliað nane pinunga on þam bṛadum fýne þe ofer-Ʒeð ealne midðan-eapð: ac hi faſað þurh þ fýne to Crīste buton ælceſe dape: gṛlice hi on gunnan leoman faſan: ðe þe getimbnað ofer þam gṛund-pealle tneopa: oððe gfreap: oððe ceaf: untrýlice he mæg witan þ his weorc geal on þam micclum fýne forþýrnan. 7 he hæfð þone hearu his weorceſ: 7 bið gpa þeah gehealden þurh þ fýr. Ðurh þa tneopa: 7 þam gfreape: 7 þam ceape: gýnd Ʒetacnode leohtlice gýnnu: þe beoð þurh fýr afeornmode: 7 se wýrhta hæfð riht þes weorceſ. Bið gpa ðeah afeornmoð þurh þ fýr: 7 gýððan he cýmð þurh mærum eapfoðniſſe to Godes rice. Soðlice se ðe þa heafoð leahtſaſ wýrceð. 7 on þam ge-endað: he mot forþýrnan on þam ecan fýne: 7 gpa þeah þa gṛænan gýnnu ne beoð næfre afeornmode for naneſ fýneſ ælnege. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. BODLEY, 342, f. 177. Hom. in Dedicatione Ecclesiæ.) *Fundamentum aliud, &c. (1 Cor. iii. 11.) That is, no man can lay another ground-wall (foundation) in the holy congregation, but that which is laid, that is Jesus Crist. He is the ground-wall of the ghostly church, even as we to you ere said. The apostle quoth: Whoever buildeth over this ground-wall gold, or silver, or precious stones, or tree (wood), straw, or chaff, every man's work shall be manifest. God's day will manifest it, because it shall be revealed in fire, and that fire will prove what each man's work is. If any one's building lasteth-through and withstandeth the fire, then receiveth the workman his reward from God for his work. If any one's work burneth-up, he hath the harm, and is nevertheless holden through the fire. These words we cannot without great fear expound. By the gold we understand belief and a good*

cation of saints :¹ his homilies, however, do not display either of these principles, especially not the

conscience ; by the silver, right, speech, and eloquence, in God's lore ; by the precious stones, holy powers ; and he who buildeth such works in God's congregation, the fire on dooms-day cannot consume his building, because the fire hurteth not the good though it torment the unrighteous. Gold, and silver, and precious stones, are proved in the fire, but nevertheless they are not with the fire consumed. So, also, he who hath good works suffereth not any torture in the broad fire which over-goeth all the earth, but they go through that fire to Crist without any hurt, as if they went in the sun's brightness. He who builds over the ground-wall, tree, or straw, or chaff, undoubtedly he may know that his work shall in the great fire burn up, and he will have the harm of his work, and will be, nevertheless, holden through the fire. By the tree, and the straw, and the chaff, are betokened light sins, which will be purged by fire, and the workman will have punishment for the work. He will be, nevertheless, purged by the fire, and then he cometh through great difficulty to God's kingdom. Truly he who committeth the capital vices, and in them endeth, he must burn up in the everlasting fire, and thus the heavy sins will never be purged in any fiery conflagration. The homilist subsequently says, Fela rýnd eac pírnienðlic rtopu þe manna rapla for heona gýmeleapre onþropiað. be heona gýltu mæðe. ær þam gemænlican dome. gpa þ hi rume beoð fullice geclænrode. 7 ne þurpon naht þropian on þam fone-rædan fýne. Many are also the punishing places in which men's souls for their negligence suffer, according to the measure of their faults, ere the common judgment, so that some will be fully cleansed, and have no occasion to suffer any thing in the foresaid fire. Thus, the principal purgatorial fire was not expected until the day of judgment, and even upon that remedy great sinners were not to calculate unless they amended before the end of life. But this view of purgatory is not that of modern Romanists, nor does the gloomy prospect offered to the more inveterate offenders agree with such representations of absolution as have long formed a powerful attraction within the papal church.

¹ Homilistic exhortations to invoke the Blessed Virgin, may be seen in note 21 to Sermon 4. (*Bampt. Lect.* 233.) Such an exhortation to invoke St. Laurence is found in p. 238. The homilies

latter, in a clear point of view. It is plain, rather, that both were making a stealthy progress, than that either had found a place among evidences of orthodoxy. Thus Elfric, in favouring some traditions which the Council of Trent erected into articles of faith, renders a service, at best equivocal. His homilies were manifestly written during a state of transition from one class of doctrines to another: but indications of such a state are far from advantageous to the Romish cause. They fatally undermine that claim to an uninterrupted stream of testimony, in which religious principles, incapable of Scriptural proof, seek support. Such evidence from Elfric's pen also subverts the most cherished opinion of English Romanists: it convicts them of a fond illusion, in identifying their own peculiar system with that of their earliest Christian ancestry. The Saxon homilies countenance, indeed, more or less, various opinions that the reformed Church of England has rejected; but their voice upon other distinctive points

most likely are Elfric's; at all events they were produced about his time, and are evidences, therefore, that the practice of invoking departed spirits was then gaining ground. But the Saxon homilies, as may be seen in notes 4 and 5 (p. 216) to that sermon, are far from favourable, upon the whole, to such invocation. It is perfectly obvious, from them and from liturgies of their time and of earlier dates, as the proofs to that sermon abundantly testify, that not even Anglo-Saxon usage, much less authority, was ever very favourable to any invocation but that of God. None other, indeed, seems to have entered the head of any man until a period but little removed from the Conquest. Johnson, accordingly, observes upon the fifth of the penitential canons, which he would attribute to Dunstan, and which he places under the year 963, "It is evident the fashion of confessing to angels and saints did not yet prevail."

is Protestant. Upon the whole, they demonstrate sufficiently, that England, in leaving Rome, regained substantially her ancient faith.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON ELFRIC.

After this work was finished, it seemed doubtful whether some mention ought not to be made of a formal treatise which takes a view of Elfric's history, different from that in the foregoing pages. The piece is thus entitled: EDWARDI-ROWEI MORESI, *de Ælfrico Dorobernensi Archiepiscopo, Commentarius*. It was published by Thorkelin, in 1789, Mr. Mores being then dead, and its object is to identify the great Anglo-Saxon author with an archbishop of Canterbury of his name. It maintains that Elfric was educated at Abingdon, under Ethelwold; that he removed with him to Winchester; that he went to Cerne, as all accounts agree; that he was made Abbot of St. Albans in 988, Bishop of Wilton in the following year, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 994, and that he died in 1005. To his residence at Winchester are assigned his *Glossary*, *Monastic Colloquies*, *Biblical Versions*, and *Epistle to Wulfstine*; to Cerne, his first volume of homilies; to Wilton, the second volume of homilies, and, probably, also his grammar.

Upon these dates, so far as they concern Elfric or Alfric, in the see of Canterbury, there is no material question. Nor is it doubtful that Elfric, the homilist, produced his first volume of homilies, soon after his removal to Cerne, in 987, and his second volume about 991; for he speaks in it of the Danish troubles. But the identity of Elfric the homilist with his namesake the Archbishop of Canterbury is any thing rather than equally clear. In order to render it probable, Mr. Mores is driven to the necessity of naming Elfric Bata as the author of the *Life of Ethelwold* and the *Epistle to Wolstan*. Chronology forbids the assignment of these to Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury. The hypothesis, therefore, of Mr. Mores, labours under the disadvantage of finding two literary men for works which might have come from one, and apparently did so. It is, besides, only supported by a MS. memorandum, appended to the *Glossary* and *Colloquies*, in the Library of St. John's College, Oxford, which claims the credit of several additions to these pieces for Elfric Bata, a disciple of his namesake

the abbot. For attributing to Bata the *Life of Ethelwold* and the *Epistle to Wolstan*, no reason is assigned; yet internal evidence renders it hardly questionable that this epistle came from the same pen that has obliged posterity by the *Epistle to Wulfsine*. Again, Elfric the homilist introduces his second volume as a *monk*. He was then, Mr. Mores contends, Bishop of Wilton. This difficulty, however, is met by Archbishop Peckham's usage, in the 13th century, of styling himself *friar*, when he was actually filling the see of Canterbury. But such an analogy is too remote for much attention. The light, indeed, in which Elfric's history has been placed by the ingenious author of *Anc. Hist. Engl. and Fr. exempl.*, appeared perfectly satisfactory. By thus identifying this illustrious Anglo-Saxon, a life of about eighty-six years will be assigned to him, and a series of works, all bearing his name, is referred to a single author.

It should be added, perhaps, that those who cite Elfric's invaluable testimony against Romish opinions, ought to remark the challenge of inquiry into the soundness of his doctrine with which he introduces both volumes of homilies. That these challenges were not idly given, we are sufficiently assured; for an archbishop of Canterbury approved the books. Dr. Lingard, who labours to discredit them in the notes (Note M) to his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, certainly does not make his case any the stronger by espousing the prevailing opinion that Elfric himself became archbishop of Canterbury, immediately after these homilies were published and authorised. According to this hypothesis, Elfric sent one volume of homilies to Siricius, about 987, another about 991, inviting a strict inquiry into the soundness of both, and was himself the successor of Siricius in 994. If such be the facts, they are pretty decisive against English belief in transubstantiation, at that time of the day. As for the intellectual inferiority of Elfric's age to that of a former period, which Dr. Lingard maintains, let it be remembered that this was the very age of Dunstan and Ethelwold. A Romish advocate would laud the great luminary of such an age to the skies—if he had not overthrown the main distinctive article of Romish belief.

CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS.

GOD'S OFFER OF SALVATION TO CHRISTIANS REPRESENTED AS UNIVERSAL—PRACTICE ESTEEMED THE ONLY TEST OF RELIGIOUS SINCERITY—GOD'S LIKENESS TO BE FOUND IN THE HUMAN SOUL—POPULAR EXPOSITIONS OF THE LORD'S PRAYER AND THE CREED ENJOINED—APOCRYPHAL LEGENDS—RESPECT FOR SUNDAY—FESTIVALS AND FASTS—ABSTINENCE FROM STRANGLED FOOD AND BLOOD—EPISCOPAL ELECTIONS—NO PROFESSION OF OBEDIENCE TO ROME REQUIRED FROM BISHOPS—NOR OF BELIEF IN TRANSUBSTANTIATION—BISHOPS AND ABBOTS MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LEGISLATURE—BISHOPS CONCURRENT JUDGES IN THE COUNTY COURTS—EPISCOPAL SEES—EPISCOPAL PRECEDENCE AND VISITATIONS—ORDINATION AND DUTIES OF PRIESTS—ANXIETY TO KEEP THEM UNMARRIED—SEVEN ORDERS OF ECCLESIASTICS—DIFFERENT KINDS OF MONKS—REGULATIONS RESPECTING THEM—ECCLESIASTICAL IMMUNITIES—GUILD-SHIPS OR SODALITIES—CORONATION COMPACT—BAPTISM—MARRIAGE—SECOND MARRIAGES—WAKES—DEDICATION OF CHURCHES—RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE—ORGANS—ORDEALS—TRUCE OF THE CHURCH—LUTRAL WATER AND CHRISM USED AS CHARMS—THE PENITENTIAL SYSTEM—ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS—ANGLO-SAXON VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE—CONCLUSION.

For the convenience of making a distinction, apparently, Englishmen have long spelt and pronounced differently the words *God* and *good*. Anglo-Saxon documents offer no such difference to the eye; nor, probably, in Anglo-Saxon speech did any such difference fall upon the ear. The great Creator might seem to have been known emphatically as *the Good*, a happy designation, at once expressive of his own most endearing attribute, and of his people's

thankfulness. With equal felicity of expression, it must be mournfully acknowledged, was our Anglo-Norman ancestry contented to signify *humanity* and *wickedness* by the same word. *Man* meant indifferently either. In strict conformity with a name so appropriately found for the Great First Cause, were Anglo-Saxon views of his moral governance. All Christians were encouraged in believing themselves to have received an offer of salvation. The health of every soul was represented as the desire of God.¹

¹ Ðrihten uf mīð sƿa micelne lufan lufað he ƿilnað þ ƿe ealle hale gýnd 7 geseund. 7 to bæne soðan hneope gecýrpan 7 to ƿam soðan andgýte hir godcundnesse. Ðrihten ƿile þ ƿe lif sý geseabed on clænnesse. 7 on soðfæstnesse. nelt he þ ƿe sýnfulla mann on hir sýnnum þurh-punige. 7 æfter hir deaðe on ecom ƿitum sƿelte. Ac he ƿile þ ƿe in þisse lænan tide geeapnien þ ƿe on ecenesse ne forþurðan. Se aƿersta Ðrihten 7 ƿe mildheorta ne bideð he æt uf gold ne seolfor. ne nænig ƿoruld geseƿeon. ac he ƿilnað þ ƿe clænrian ƿre sƿapla. 7 ƿre lichaman þ ƿe maƿon heo him sƿa clæne agýfan sƿa he hi uf ær clæne befepte. Menn þa leofestan ƿe seolon mīð monig-fealdum godum ƿre sƿapla clænrian. mīð fæstenum. 7 mīð ælmes-deadum. 7 clænum gebedum. forðon ƿe monn se zelomlice to Ðrihtene clýpað. þonne brecð he deofles mægu. 7 hir corþunge him fram afeleð.—(*Hom. De Letaniâ Majore. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 22.*) *The Lord with so great love us loveth, he desireth that we all be hale and sound, and turn to true repentance, and to true understanding of his divinity. The Lord desireth that our life be established in cleanness (purity); and in truth: he will not that the sinful man in his sins continue, and after his death in everlasting punishments die. But he desires that we, in this lean (frail or transitory) tide, earn that we for ever do not perish. The gracious Lord and the mild-hearted, asketh he not of us gold, nor silver, nor any worldly gain; but he desireth that we cleanse our soul and our body; that we may give it up to him as clean as he committed it ere clean to us. Men, the most beloved, we should with manifold goods our souls cleanse; with fastings, and with alms-deeds, and with clean prayers; for the man who constantly calleth to the Lord, then breaketh he the devil's main (power), and his temptation from him putteth to flight.*

Nor were gloomy forebodings awakened in any believing mind, unless an irreligious life denied the conscience peace.

When the Author of all goodness is thus attractively displayed, a serious mind inclines irresistibly to love him. Such an inclination might, however, merely generate a transient glow, productive neither of individual amelioration, nor of honour to the church. Wisely, therefore, for the ripening of heavenly seed, were the Anglo-Saxons taught distrust in any barren impulse, however warm and creditable. Men might please themselves in observing their hearts approach to a healthier, religious tone, and not unreasonably. Would they please God, also, Anglo-Saxon divinity bade them to remember that virtuous actions must prove their feelings energetic, no less than sound.¹ Thus were congregations guarded against illusions from a sanguine temperament and an enthusiastic brain; holy affections were tried by the sober-minded test of moral lives; men were warned against reckoning either upon their own love to God or upon the love from him indispensable for their wants, while the habits bore no witness to a change. Until this difficulty

¹ Uton þe nu forþon men þa leofestan neoman sibbe 7 lufe yr betreonan forþon on þam bið eall Drihtnes beboð mægt. Uton neoman clænneſse 7 ġerceadſigneſse ealra ġoðra weorca forþon buton þam ne mæg nan man Gode lician.—(*Hom. De Letaniâ Majore*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 22.) *Come we now, then, men the most beloved, let us take peace and love among ourselves; for in them is the greatest of all God's commandments. Come, let us take cleanness and regard for good works; for without them no man can please God.*

was overcome, all claims to the love of God were branded as nothing better than false pretences.¹

To the soundness of such divinity sensible men will ordinarily yield immediate assent. Nor do they overlook, when sunk in serious thought, the difficulty of thus attesting trustworthy principles. From this insight into their danger, and into their natural incompetence to overcome it, religious minds draw humility and aspirations after heavenly aid. Anglo-Saxon teachers inculcated, accordingly, the need of both. A proud heart was represented as fatal to the hope of divine assistance, and this latter as indispensable for establishing the soul in health.² It was to

¹ Eft cƿæð ƿe Hælend to his leorning-cnihtum. Se þe me lufað he hylt min beboð. ⁊ min Fæder hine lufað for þære gehýrnunýſſe. ⁊ ƿýr cumað him to. ⁊ him mid ƿuniað. Geshýnað mine gebroðra hræt ƿe Hælend cƿæð. Se þe me lufað he hylt min beboð. Ðære lufe fardung is þæs ƿeorceſ fneumung. Iohannes ƿe aƿortol eac be þýrum cƿæð. Gif hƿa cƿýð þ he lufige þone lufigendan God. ⁊ his beboða ne hylt býð leaƿ þonne. Soðlice ƿe lufiað þone leofan Drihten gif ƿe ure unþeapas geemnýrtað be his hæfum. ⁊ ure pohtnýſſe be his ƿordum geuhtað. ⁊ þurh unluſtað his lufe ne riðceðað. — (*Hom. De Dilectione Dei et Proximi. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 23.*) *Then quoth the Healer to his learning-knights: He that loveth me, he holds my bidding, and my Father loveth him for the obedience, and we two come to him, and dwell with him. Hear, my brethren, what the Healer quoth: He that loveth me, he holds my bidding. The love's proof is the work's effect. Iohannes, the apostle, also of this quoth: If any one quoth that he loveth the loving God, and his bidding hold not, he is a liar then. Truly we love the beloved Lord, if we our ill-manners adjust by his commands, and our errors by his words correct, and through what displeases him, his love do not gainsay.*

² Dena getacniað þa eadmoðan. Ðuna þa moðigan. On Drihtenes to-cýme ƿurdon dena afýllede. ⁊ Ðuna geeadmete. ƿƿa ƿƿa he gýl cƿæð. Ælc þa ƿa þe hine onhefð bið eadmet. ⁊ ƿe þe hine geeadmet bið geuƿeod. Ðƿa ƿƿa ƿæten ƿeýt of þe ƿe Ðune. ⁊ eft ƿeent on Ðene. ƿƿa ƿƿa ƿorplið ƿe Halga Gart moðigna manna heortan. ⁊ nimeð ƿununge on

that invisible part to which the words of Moses were applied, when he speaks of man as originally created in the image of God.¹ When human aims, therefore, were directed by the divine perfections, men were only striving to regain what they had been taught to consider as integral portions of their proper nature. Adam's fall, however, they were informed had enslaved the will. This had been originally free in every sense of that word. It was now warped by a

þam eadmoðan.—(*Hom. in Nativ. Sci Ioh. Bapt. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 24.*) *Valleys betoken the humble, mountains the proud. At the Lord's advent were valleys filled up and mountains levelled, even as he himself quoth: Every one of those who exalt themselves shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. Even as water shoots off the mountain, and then stands in the valley, even so fleeth the Holy Ghost proud men's hearts, and taketh a dwelling in the humble.*

Nu behopað ure freodom æfre Godes fultume forþan þe we ne doð nan god butan Godes fultume.—(*Hom. in Letaniâ Majore. Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Julius, E. 7. f. 83.*) *Now needeth our freedom ever God's aid, for we do no good without God's aid.*

Næfð ure nanðan leoht ænigre godnigre buton of Cristes gifre þe þe is soðre rihtwyrigre sunne gehaten.—(*Ib. Titus, D. 27. f. 54.*) *None of us hath any light of any goodness but of Christ's gift, who is called the sun of true righteousness.*

¹ Hēr ge mazon gehýpan þa halgan Ðrýnnegre 7 soþe annergre ane godcundegre. Uton pyrcan mannan þær is seo halge Ðrýnný. To ure Ðrýnný. To anlicnegre. Ðær is seo annýr. To ane anlicnegre na to þrým anlicnegrum. On þer mannes sáple is Godes anlicner forþan is se man selpa þonne þa sáulleþran nýtenur þe nan andgít nabbað embe heopa agenne scýppen.—(*Hom. 15. De Exameron. þ is BE GODES SIX DÆLA WEORCUM. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 24. p. 276.*) *Here ye may hear the Holy Trinity and the true Unity in one Divinity. Come let us make man: there is the holy Trinity: To our likeness: there is the Unity. To one likeness, not to three likenesses. In man's soul is the likeness of God; therefore is man's ~~soul~~ better than the soul-less cattle, which have no understanding about their own Creator.*

constitutional bias towards iniquity; hence nothing short of divine interposition offered a hope of such courses as judgment and conscience would approve.¹

A Latin liturgy naturally made the Anglo-Saxons partial to that language even in their offices of domestic piety. The Lord's Prayer, the creeds, and other devotional pieces were, indeed, rendered into the vernacular tongue. Nor was there any reason why individuals, worshipping God at home, should have used them under the disguise of a foreign idiom. But public solemnities take a powerful hold upon imagination, and human weakness is prone to invest with a mysterious potency such religious forms as are ordinarily unintelligible. Hence, clergymen were enjoined, as an especial duty, to supply popular expositions of the Lord's Prayer and Creed.¹ Men, it was intimated, ought to know what was the purport of their prayers, and what were the articles of their belief. How forcibly does such an intimation rebuke the usage of making religion speak an unknown tongue!

¹ Hƿæt iſ aġen-cýne. Hƿæt iſ fríðdom to geceorān ȝod oððe ýfel. Ðone fríðdom hæfde mann on neorxnepange. ac nu iſ ge fríðdom ge-ðeoƿtod. for ge mann ne cann nan ȝod. bute God ƿurh hīſ ȝeoƿe him tæce. Ne þa ȝet ne mæig he hit ȝeforðigen. bute God him fylrte þærto. (Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, *Vespasian*, D. 14, f. 157.)

What is free will? What is freedom to choose good or evil? The freedom had man in Paradise: but now is the freedom enslaved; for man can do no good, unless God, through his gift, him teach. Nor, then, can he go on with it, unless God aid him thereto.

² Se læpeop fceal fcegan þam læƿedum mannum þ andȝit to þam Pater nre. 7 þam Creadan. þ hī ƿiton hƿæt hī briddað æt Gode. 7 hu hī fceolon on God ȝelyfan. (*Hom. in Cap. Jejuni.* Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, *Julius*, E. 7, f. 65.) *The teacher shall say to the lay men, the meaning of the Pater n̄r, and the Creed, that they know what they pray of God, and how they should in God believe.*

As Anglo-Saxon divines lived long before the revival of sound criticism, they were naturally prone to admit hasty views of Scripture and apocryphal tales. They teach, accordingly, that Elias is reserved alive for a solemn appearance upon earth; when Anti-christ has gained his destined ascendancy, immediately before the final consummation. Then, he is to bear an unavailing testimony against ungodliness and suffer martyrdom.¹ Christ's death, it was also believed, has effected a most important deliverance for the first pair, and the good of former times. All these had hitherto languished in the infernal regions; but Jesus descended to them, and on departing carried them away in his train, leaving impenitent spirits to brood in gloomy despair over augmented horrors reserved for the day of judgment.² Paradise was

¹ Eliaſ næfre gýt deað ne þolode. ac he iſ gýt on lichame libbende on þam ftope þe God him hæfð iſræt. ⁊ he ſceal þær abiddan ſundfullice hiſ martýrdomeſ. oððeſ Drihten aſende hine æft hiden on middæn-eaſde æt populdeſ ende. ⁊ he ſceal þenne ſecgæn ⁊ cubæn moncýnne Godeſ laſe. ⁊ hiſ martýrdom for Crifteſ luſe þropæn on Antecriſteſ dagum. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. BODLEY, 343, f. 162.) *Elias never yet suffered death, but he is yet in the body living in the place where God hath set him; and he shall there happily abide his martyrdom, until the Lord send him away hereafter hither on earth, at the world's end, that he shall then say and testify to mankind God's lore, and undergo his martyrdom for Crist's love, in Antecrist's days.*

² Ure Hælend Crift tobræc helle gatu ⁊ geneode Adam ⁊ Euan ⁊ hiſ gecopenan of heora cýnne. ⁊ fpeolice of deað aſaſ ⁊ hi ſamod. ⁊ aſtah to heofonum. Ða manfullan he let bæſtan to þam ecum wírum. ⁊ iſ nu helle gat belocen ſihipírum mannum. ⁊ æfre oſen unſihtírum. (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. 9 i. 4—6. *Hom. in Die Dom. Paſch.* p. 294.) *Our Healer, Crist, brake hell's gates, and delivered Adam and Eva, and his chosen of their kind, and freely from death arose, and they with him, and ascended to heaven. The wicked he left*

represented as a delightful abode miraculously suspended between heaven and earth.¹ A proof of the body's resurrection was rather strangely sought in the legend of the Seven Sleepers. Certain individuals, thus designated, being said to have awakened from a trance of nearly four centuries, it was inferred that the possibility of a general resurrection had been thereby completely established.¹ A more philoso-

behind, to everlasting punishments ; and now is hell's gate locked against righteous men, and ever open to unrighteous. Another of these legendary statements is worthy of notice, because it is at variance with the chronology now commonly received. Ðæt pær Frige-dæg þ hie þa blæde þigdon Aðam 7 Eua 7 hie eft spulton on Frige-dæg 7 þa eft æfter þon þ hie butu pæron on helle Aðam 7 Eua for þær gyltes mycelnefre. fife þuſend wintra 7 twa hund wintra ær þon heom God gemildrian wolde 7 heom þær pæceſ unbīdan. (Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Tiberius, A. 3. f. 41.) *It was Friday that they ate the fruit, Adam and Eva, and they afterwards died on Friday ; and after that they both were in hell, Adam and Eva, for the guilt's greatness, five thousand winters, and two hundred winters, ere that God would have mercy on them, and release them from his vengeance.*

¹ Sc̅ Johanneſ gereh ofer ƿapnreƿ ƿp̅lce hit an land ƿæne. Ða ƿenam hine ge ængel 7 gebrōhte hine to neopxenpange. Neopxenpange niſ naðer on heopene ne on eorðe. Ðeo boc ƿæð þ Noeſ flod ƿær feoprtig fedmen heh ofer þa heƿerta dūnen þe on middan-eaſde ſynðen 7 neopxenpanƿ iſ feoprtig fedme heppne þonne Noeſ flod ƿær 7 hit hanƿeð betƿonen heofon 7 eorðen punðerlice. (Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Vespasian, D. 14, f. 163.) *Sc̅s Johannes saw over the ocean as if it were land. Then the angel took him, and brought him to Paradise. Paradise is neither in heaven nor in earth. The book saith, that Noe's flood was forty fathoms high over the highest mountains that are on earth, and Paradise is forty fathoms higher than Noe's flood was ; and it hangeth between heaven and earth wonderfully.*

² Uſ ƿecgað eac bec ſƿa ſƿa hit full roð iſ þ ða feofon flæpeſaſ þe flepon on þam tīman fram Decieſ dagum. Ðær deofellican careneſ oð Theodorieſ tīman þe on Drihten ƿelýfde. þneo hund ƿeara fæc 7 twa 7 hund feofontig ƿeara þ hi þa upp-aſuſon of þære eorþan acu-

phical age would probably have remarked the inconsistency of reasoning from a case in which the more active bodily functions were merely suspended, to one in which the body itself was wholly decomposed.

A similar credulity lent force to exhortations for the strict observance of Sunday. Against the desecration of that holy day numerous legislative acts made a wise and honourable provision.¹ Minds, however, impressed but slightly by religion, find a temptation, almost irresistible, to encroach upon it by business or amusement. Hence an Anglo-Saxon homily circulated a legend, representing legal and customary restrictions for guarding the sanctity of Sunday as express revelations from Heaven. Christians at Antioch were said to have become very remiss in hallowing the Lord's day. An angel was

code forþan þe Crist wolde þam carefe geþruteþian ꝥ þe ealle reeolon of deaðe ariþan on þam endenextan dæge upum Drihtene togea-ner ꝥ underþon eðlean ealra ure dæda be þam þe þe ær geporhton on þisse worlde. (Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, *Vitellius*, C. 5. f. 95.) *Us tell us also books, even as it full true is, that the seven sleepers, who slept at a time, from Decie's days, the devilish emperor, to Theodosie's time, who believed in the Lord, three hundred and seventy two years' space, that they then up-urose from the earth alive; because Crist would manifest to the emperor that we all shall rise from death at the last day to meet our Lord, and receive the reward of all our deeds, according to that we ere wrought in this world.*

¹ Ina's legislation for Sunday has already been particularised. This was repeated at Berghamstead. The fourteenth canon of the Berghamstead council of Cloveshoo, forbids journeys to ecclesiastics, unless absolutely necessary, on Sundays. (SPELM. i. 249. WILK. i. 96.) Athelstan imposed heavy penalties on Sunday-trading. (SPELM. i. 400. WILK. i. 207.) At Eanham, hunting on Sundays was forbidden. (SPELM. i. 518. WILK. i. 288.) This, with the other prohibitions, Canute repeated.—SPELM. i. 546. WILK. i. 303.

therefore despatched to one Peter, then bishop there, for the purpose of detailing the claims of piety's own day to especial veneration, and of enjoining the manner of its observance.¹ This heavenly messenger is made to crowd into the sacred day a very large proportion of those incidents that most interest religious minds. Anglo-Saxon usage consecrated to devotion the whole space of time from three o'clock on Saturday afternoon to day-light on Monday morning.² Within this interval, it was represented, God created the soul of man. To the Lord's day were assigned also the passage of Israel through the Red Sea, the miraculous fall of manna, the birth of Christ, his change of water into wine, his baptism, and his wonderful repast to the five thousand.³ His rise from

¹ Ða aƿende ƿe ælmihtiga God an æƿend-ƿeƿrit uƿan of heofonan be anum halƿan engle to anum biſceope ƿe hatte Petrus ƿe ƿær biſcop on Antiochia þære buhþ. þær þær ƿær ƿær ƿær Petrus ƿe aƿortol æneſt ƿeſæt hiſ biſcop-ſetl on þam ƿeƿrite ſtod eall be ƿær dæƿer halig-neſſe. (*Bibl. Lameth. MSS.* 489. f. 25. SERMO AD POPVLVM DOMINICIS DIEBV.S.) *Then ſent Almighty God an epiſtle from heaven above, by a holy angel, to a biſhop named Petrus, who was biſhop in the city of Antiochia, where SCS Petrus, the apoſtle erſt, ſet his biſhop's ſee; in the writing ſtood all about the day's holineſs.*

² This cuſtom of keeping eves appears to have been adopted from the Jewiſh practice. Among that nation it was ancient, as is evident from Judith, viii.-6. The homily thus enjoins it, aſſuming the perſon of God: Ic beode þ men healðan þone ƿrihtenlican dæg fram eallum þeopethicum þeopcum. þ iſ fram Sæternes-dæƿer none oð Monan-dæƿer lhtinge. *I bid that men keep the Lord's day from all ſervile works: that is, from Saturn's day noon (ninth hour, reckoned from ſix in the morning) to Monday's dawn.* Legiſlative penalties reſerved all this ſpace of time for religion ſo early as the council of Berghamſtead, in 697.—*SPELM.* i. 195. *WILK.* i. 60.

³ Ðac on þam dæƿe he ƿeſceop manna ƿapla 7 þa þa Moƿſes ƿe

the dead and the great day of Pentecost are naturally commemorated in this imposing catalogue. Another powerful claim for the consecration of Sunday is founded on the general judgment, which, it is asserted, will crown the various most remarkable distinctions of that holy day.¹ God is accordingly represented as

heƿetoga lædde Godes folc of Egipta lande. þa on þam dæge he hit lædde ofer þa Reaðan sæ. swa þ he floh mid anre gýrde on þa sæ. ⁊ heo to-eode on tƿa. ⁊ þ folc for betƿux þam tƿam ƿæterum on þam gƿunde ealle dƿig-ƿeode oð hi comon to þam lande up. ⁊ on þam dæge com æƿeƿt ƿeo heofonlice mete upan of heofonum þam ylcan folce to bilyfan. ⁊ God hi mid þam æfenne xl ƿintƿa on þam ƿeƿtene þe hi to-fonon. ⁊ ƿe mete hatte manna ⁊ on þam dæge ƿæs Crist. þæs lifigenðan Godes sunu. geƿopen of Sca Marian innoðe. soð man eal swa he is soð God. midðan-earde to alýr- anne of deofles anƿealde. þe hiƿ æƿ geƿeald ahte for Adames gýlde. ⁊ gýððan he acenned ƿæs he aƿende on þam dæge ƿæter to ƿine. ⁊ on þam dæge he ƿæs gefulloð. ⁊ on þam dæge he geƿeopðade æt anum mæle — [obliterated] þƿend manna of fīf heƿenum hlaƿum — [obliterated] fixum. gýððan he hæfde þone bilyfan mid heofoncundlicne bletƿunga þam ylcan dæge gebletƿoð. ⁊ þa þa hi ealle fulle ƿæron. þa bæƿ man up of þan þe hi læfdon tƿelf leaƿas fulle. (*Ib.* f. 26.) *Also on that day he created man's soul; and when Moyses, the leader, led God's folk from Egypt's land, then on that day he led them over the Red Sea, after he smote with a wand on the sea, and it went in twain, and the people went between the two waters on the ground all dry-shod, until they came to the land up: and on that day, came erst the heavenly meat from heaven above for the same folk's food, and God fed them with it xl. winters in the wilderness that they travelled through, and the meat was called manna: and on that day was Crist, the living God's Son, born of Sca Maria's womb, true man as he is true God, the world to release from the devil's power, who ere possessed the power of it for Adam's guilt: and after he was born, he turned, on that day, water to wine; and on that day he was baptised: and on that day he refreshed at one meal — thousand men from five barley loaves — fishes, after he had the food with heavenly blessing on the same day blessed, then were borne up from that which they left twelve baskets full.*

and w^h
they all
full

¹ On þam dæge ƿýrð midðan-earð eall geendad. ⁊ on þam dæge cýmað God to demanne eallum mancýnne ælcum þe hiƿ agenum geƿýrhtum. (*Ib.*) *On that day will the earth be all ended; and on*

insisting upon a rigid observance of it. His angelic messenger forbids all trafficking on Sundays, all exercise of an artisan's trade, all such household cares as are not necessarily of daily recurrence; and he even interdicts the barber from obeying a summons for assistance. Any transgressor of these restrictions, it was declared, God would treat as an outlaw, denying him his blessing, and reserving for him his wrath.¹

Besides the Lord's day, conciliar authority enjoined the celebration of all such festivals in honour of saints as were established in the Roman martyrologies.² In process of time English saints made new calls upon the national devotion. It was, however, impressed upon the minds of men, that such services, although in honour of religion's brightest ornaments, were merely commemorative on their

that day cometh God to judge all mankind, every man according to his own works. Se sunnan-dæg is ge forþma dæg ealra dægena. ⁊ he bið ge ende, nyhtra æt þýrrene worulde ende. (Ib. f. 27.) Sunday is the first day of all days, and it will be the last at this world's end.

beon ¹ Sƿa hƿa sƿa ænig eýpinge on þam dæge be gæð. oððe oðre þing þ̅ man claðar paxe. oððe ænig cƿæftig-man him on his cƿæfte týlige. oððe man eƿerige oðerne man. oððe hƿeað bace. oððe ænig ungelýfed þing be ga on þam dæge. he geel be on utlaga ƿið me. ⁊ ealle þa him to þam unrihte fýlrað ⁊ him geƿaƿiað. forþan þa men þe sƿýle þing be gað ne be gýrað hi na mine blettunge ne mine mýltre. ac heom becýmð færlíce min gƿama ofer for þer dæger forƿepennýrre. (Ib. f. 28.) *Whoever any dealing on that day exerciseth, or washeth clothes, or any artisan that works at his craft, or a man who trims the hair of another, or bakes bread, or plies any unallowed thing on that day, he shall be an outlaw with me, and all who aid him in the wrong, and approve him: for men who ply such things do not get my blessing or my mercy, but upon them cometh suddenly my wrath for the day's contempt.*

¹ Conc. Clovesh. can. 13. SPELM. i. 249. WILK. i. 96.

parts. To God himself the service was really addressed.¹ Upon the public generally these demands for pious exercises appear to have been far less numerous than they eventually became. It was, probably, monks and ecclesiastics only who were expected to vary their year by all the commemorative offices of the Roman calendar. Upon the week-day time of laymen the claim for festivals appears to have been merely for the holiday-seasons of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas; for two days in honour of the Virgin; for one day in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul; and for single days in honour of the archangel Michael, of the Baptist, of the saints Martin and Andrew, and of the Epiphany; together with such martyrs or confessors as should be interred in that particular diocese which contained the party's residence.² English

¹ “Festivitates sc̄orum apostolorum seu martyrum antiqui patres in venerationis misterio celebrari sanxerunt, vel ad excitandam imitationem, vel ut meritis eorum consociemur atque orationibus adjuvemur: *ita tamen ut nulli martyrum sed ipsi Deo martyrum sacrificemus*; quamvis in memoriâ martyrum constituamus altaria. Nemo enim Antistitem in locis sanctorum corporum assistens altari aliquando dixit, *offerimus tibi, Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane*, sed quid offertur, offertur Deo qui martyres coronavit.”—Ex codice MS. C. C. C. C. apud, HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 148.

² *De Festivitatibus Anni.* “Festos dies in anno celebrare sancimus: hoc est diem dominicum pasche cum omni honore et sobrietate venerari: simili modo tamen ebdomadam illam observare decrevimus: Die ascensionis dñi pleniter celebrare in pentecosten similiter ut in pascha: In natale aplorū Petri et Pauli diē unum: nativitatem sc̄i Iohannis baptistæ: assumptionem scē Mariæ. Dedicationem sc̄i Michaelis: natale sc̄i Martini et sc̄i Andree: in natale dñi dies iiii: Octavas dñi: Epiphania dñi: purificatio scē Mariæ, et illas festivitates martirum vel confessorum observare decrevimus quorum in unaquaque parrochiâ sc̄a corpora requiescunt.”

authorities also thought themselves bound by the ties of national gratitude to prescribe festivals in honour of Gregory and Augustine.¹

Besides these calls to blend religion with festivity, the Anglo-Saxon church prescribed regular pious exercises of a different character. Every Friday, unless it happened to be a festival, was to be solemnised by fasting. It was the same with the eve of every festival, except that of St. Philip and St. James. This saint's day was always near the joyous time of Easter. Hence the church was unwilling then to insist upon any fast, but left such a mode of celebrating the eve optional with individuals.² The great fasts were four in number, one in every quarter of the year. These were distinguished as *legitimate fasts*, and were ordinarily observed with considerable rigour. Every person above twelve years of age was then required to abstain from food until nones, or three in the afternoon.³ These four seasons of

(*Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Tiberius, A. 3. f. 165.*) Wanley pronounces the MS. from which this extract has been made, anterior to the Conquest.—HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 192.

¹ *Conc. Clovesh.* can. 17. *SPELM.* i. 256. *WILK.* i. 97. The 18th of King Alfred's laws allows twelve days at Christmas, the day of Christ's victory over the devil, St. Gregory's day, St. Peter and St. Paul's day, All Saints' day, Passion week, the Easter week, and a full week before St. Mary's mass, in harvest. (*SPELM.* i. 370. *WILK.* i. 194.) The St. Mary's mass mentioned, is that for the feast of the assumption, Aug. 15. Johnson considers the day of Christ's victory over the devil to be either Ascension-day, or the first Sunday in Lent.

² *Conc. Eanh.* *SPELM.* i. 518. *WILK.* i. 288.

³ "Primum legitimum ieiuniū erit in primâ ebdomadâ quadragesimâ. Sēdm̄ autem in ebdomadâ pentecosten. Sive ebdomada

religious abstinence were also called *ember weeks*, from the Saxon word signifying *a circuit* or *course*. Of this adaptation the meaning is obvious,—in the course of every year these fasts regularly recurred.¹

Anglo-Saxon prejudices appear never to have been relaxed upon the subject of such aliments as the most venerable of councils, that of Jerusalem, had forbidden.² Although Jewish prejudices no longer needed conciliation, yet this was apparently quite overlooked. Ecclesiastical authorities implicitly fol-

post pentecosten. Tertium autē in ebdomadâ plenâ ante equinoctiū autumpnale. Quartū autē in ebdomadâ plenâ ante natale dñi nrī ihū xpī.” (*Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii.* 99.) This is from an ancient calendar at the beginning of the MS., written, as it appears, by a monk and priest, named Edric, who died 9 *Kal.*, Dec.; but the year is not mentioned. The calculations, however, are made to the year 1119.

Fæstað eoƿeƿ lencten fæſten rihtlice to noneſ ælc man þe beo oƿeƿ xii ſintre. ⁊ þa feoƿeƿ ymbnenu on tƿelf monðu þe for rihtlice aƿette ſýnb. ⁊ þeƿa haligna mæſſe-æƿenaf þe for Ēnriƿteſ luƿon martýrdom þƿopedon. (Ex Hom. intitul. Hēr iſ halpenðlic Lār: *Here is wholesome Lore.* in eod. cod. f. 68.) *Fast your lenten fast rightly to nones, every man that is over xii. winters, and the four embrens in the twelve months, which are rightly set for you, and the mass-evens of the saints who for Crist's love suffered martyrdom.*

¹ As *embering*, and *ember*, still occur in our Prayer-books, and occasionally elsewhere, various speculations upon the precise meaning of the term have been entertained among observers of language, unacquainted with Saxon. It comes from *ymb*, the Greek *ἀμφι*, *about*, and *ſýne*, *a run*. Some have hastily derived it from *embers*, meaning the ashes, anciently used on Ash-Wednesday; but Somner (*in voc.* *Ymb-ſen*), very well observes, that this usage was confined to one day in the whole four seasons. Some questions and answers upon these four fasts, with various fanciful reasons for their observance, from the pen of Egbert, may be seen in WILKINS, *Conc.* i. 85.

² Acts xv. 29.

lowed Egbert's example in prohibiting the tasting of blood or of strangled animals.¹ A legal defilement was attributed even to the water into which such substances had fallen.² In the *Penitentials*, accordingly, are provided penances apportioned to all these breaches of the ceremonial law, whether accidental or

¹ Rihtr is þ ænig Ēnriſten man blod ne þȳce. (Sinodal. Decret. 53. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 121. f. 29.) *Right is that any Cristen man take not blood.*

We cȳpað cop þ God ælmihtig cƿæð his azenum muðe þ nan man he mot abȳnſean naner cȳner blodet ne fugelet ne nȳtener þe eop alȳfed is þ flære to nȳttienne, Ælc þæra þe abȳnſð blodet ofer Godet bebod ſceal forþunðan on eceſȳſſe. (Ex Hom. intitul. Heu is halpenlic Lar. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 99. f. 68.) *We tell you that God Almighty quoth by his own mouth, that no man may taste any kind of blood, neither fowl's, nor cattle's, whose flesh is allowed you to enjoy. Every one who tastes blood against God's command, shall perish for ever.*

It appears, from the 31st canon of Egbert's *Penitential* (WILK. i. 121), that women sometimes took the blood of their husbands as a medicine. This usage was, probably, founded on some old heathen superstition, and popular credulity was likely to gather strength from ecclesiastical prohibition.

In Egbert's 38th canon (*Ib.* 123) is given an express permission for the eating of horse-flesh, and of hares (the Saxon word for which, though almost identical with the modern English, is strangely rendered *halices* by Wilkins.) From such permissions, it seems hardly doubtful that some people scrupled about the eating of any thing that was Levitically unclean. The same canon, indeed, enjoins, that even water, into which a little pig had fallen, should be sprinkled with holy water and fumigated with incense before use. It allows, however, expressly the eating of unclean animals in cases of necessity.

² *Egb. Pen.* can. 39. 40. WILK. i. 123. 124. From the latter of these two canons, it appears that scruples were entertained about the eating of swine which had eaten carrion, or sucked up human blood. Egbert goes no further than to say, *We believe that they nevertheless are not to be cast away*; but he adds, that they cannot be used *until they are clean*.

otherwise. It is this peculiarity which has made many regard certain canonical sanctions, occurring in Anglo-Saxon monuments, as irresistibly ludicrous. Readers have been unable to contain their laughter, on encountering grave denunciations against water that had come into contact with a dead mouse or weasel. Those who think, however, of Mosaic prohibitions and the council of Jerusalem, will recognise in such peculiarities interesting links connecting modern times with ancient. It was owing, probably, to Theodore of Tarsus¹ that these Asiatic restrictions were enjoined so rigidly by the Anglo-Saxon Church, and her deference for his authority remained unshaken to the last.

As this venerable community, like other ancient churches, was happily connected with apostolic times by an episcopal polity, sufficient care impressed laical apprehensions with a due perception of this essential feature in religious discipline. Opulence was, indeed, exhorted and allured abundantly to the foundation of churches, by the offer of patronage. But no trace appears of independent congregations, or of congregations federally connected. Every new church was considered as an additional member of that single religious body which, without episcopacy, must want its full integrity. Whenever a diocese, accordingly, lost that spiritual head, which is alike

¹ Theodore is cited in the 39th canon, as an authority for dispensing with some of these scruples. This may, perhaps, appear an additional reason for attributing chiefly to him the naturalisation of this Judaizing Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons. As usual some of his admirers had gone further than he intended.

necessary for securing the apostolical succession of ministers, and for assimilating religious communities with primitive antiquity, all the more considerable inhabitants were convened. Both laity and clergy solemnly admitted a serious loss, for the speedy reparation of which they were equally concerned. Hence it was by their united suffrages that a successor was appointed to the vacant see.¹ His original nomination might seem to have rested with the crown, and the popular duty to have been that of approval or rejection. Having been chosen, the bishop elect was presented to the prelates of the province for examination. He was now interrogated as to the soundness of his belief, and required to give a solemn pledge for the due performance of his episcopal duties.² A profession of canonical obedience to his metropolitan was also exacted from him. Of obedience to the Roman see, or of a belief in transubstantiation, there appears no mention in our earliest pontificals.³ Professions of such obedience and

¹ For the address of clergy and laity to the bishops of the province, see *Bampton Lectures*, 177.

² For some of the interrogatories, see *Bampton Lectures*, 94.

³ Nasmith, in his printed Catalogue of Archbishop Parker's MSS. in the library of C. C. C. C., has the following remark on an ancient pontifical in that collection, No. 44 : " Promittit eps ordinandus se plebem ei commissum ex sacris Scripturis docturum, officium episcopale fideliter obsecuturum, ecclesiæ Dorobernensi se fore subjectum et obedientem, et articulis fidei assensum præbet. Nihil vero hic invenies de subjectione a sede Romanâ ab electis postea exactâ, nec de transubstantiatione."—P. 28.

For the interpolations respecting traditions and papal constitutions, see *Bampt. Lect.* 95 : for those respecting transubstantiation and remission of sins, see p. 420. It might have been remarked,

belief, are therefore, palpable innovations. Their occurrence in later pontificals only, deservedly stamps them as interpolations. Formularies, thus interpolated, contrasted with more ancient records, afford invaluable evidence against allegations of antiquity advanced by a Romish advocate.

The prelacy constituted a standing branch of the Saxon *witenagemot*, or parliament. Legislative assemblies merely lay were unknown to those who provided England with her envied constitution. It would be, indeed, a monstrous folly, as well as a gross injustice, to exclude from political deliberation that very class of considerable proprietors, in which alone information and morality are indispensable. On every meeting, accordingly, of the great national council, Anglo-Saxon archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were provided with appropriate places. Thus the civil polity of England was wisely established on a Christian basis. The clerical estate has formed an integral member of it from the first. An English prelate's right to occupy the legislative seat that has descended to him from the long line of his predecessors, is, therefore, founded on the most venerable of national prescriptions. It is no privilege derived from that Norman policy which converted episcopal endowments into baronies. It is far more ancient than the Conqueror's time; being

in the Sermon upon Attrition, that the insertion of an interrogation as to the remission of sins, in the later pontificals, is an incidental proof that the scholastic doctrine of sacramental absolution is of no high antiquity.

rooted amidst the very foundations of the monarchy.¹

Under William, indeed, episcopal privileges were abridged. He found the bishop, and the earl, or alderman, sitting concurrently as judges in the county court; having for assessors the thanes or gentry within the shire. This tribunal entertained ordinary questions of litigation, and was open to appeals from the various hundred-courts. Its own decisions were liable to revision by the king alone. An Anglo-Saxon prelate was therefore continually before the public eye, invested with an important civil trust. After a reign of about seventeen years, the Conqueror abrogated this ancient usage, erecting separate places of judicature for ecclesiastical suits.² A principle of exclusion was thus established, which proud and selfish spirits would fain abuse, until they have reduced, at least one order of competitors for the more attractive advantages of society, to hopeless insignificance.

Soon after the conversion of Kent, an episcopal see was founded at Rochester, in subordination to that of Canterbury. To this, the archbishops are said to have nominated, until after the Conquest.³

¹ For information upon the clerical branch of the Anglo-Saxon legislature, see Archbishop Wake's *State of the Church*, p. 135, *et. seq.*, and his *Authority of Christian Princes*, p. 161.

² HICKES, *Dissert. Epistolaris*. Thes. i. 4.

³ GODWIN, *De Præsul*. 527. This archiepiscopal privilege, we are told, was relinquished in favour of the monks of Rochester, by Archbishop Theobald, in 1147. But Godwin's editor shews the statement to be inaccurate. The ancient usage appears to have been, that the monks of Rochester should choose their own bishop

When other kingdoms of the Heptarchy were converted, a single see was established in each. In Wessex this was the Oxfordshire Dorchester; in Essex, London; in East-Anglia, Dunwich; in Mercia, Lichfield; in Northumbria, Lindisfarne; and in Sussex, Selsey. Essex and Sussex remained permanently under one prelate. The diocese of Wessex was firstly dismembered by the foundation of a bishopric at Winchester;¹ subsequently still further, by such foundations at Sherborne,² Wilton,³ Wells,⁴ Crediton and Bodmin.⁵ Mercia was gradually divided into the dioceses of Sidnacester, Leicester, Hereford,⁶ Worcester,⁷ and Lichfield. Of these, the two former coalesced, and were placed under a single bishop, who resided at Dorchester.⁸

in the chapter-house of Canterbury. Probably Theobald relieved them from this mark of subjection. It is obvious, that while the old practice continued, the archbishop would be likely to influence the election. The see of Rochester was founded in 604.

¹ The see of Dorchester was founded about 635; that of Winchester, about 663.—GODWIN, *De Præsul.* pp. 202. 203.

² The see of Sherborne was founded about 705; it was removed to Salisbury some years after 1046.—LE NEVE, *Fasti*, 255. 256.

³ Founded in 905. Herman was chosen to it in 1046, and, subsequently obtaining Sherborne, he procured the union of the two sees. Before his death he fixed the see at Salisbury.—*Ib.* 256.

⁴ Founded in 905.—*Ib.* 31.

⁵ Both founded in 905; they coalesced about 1040, on the establishment of St. Peter's at Exeter, as a see for both Devonshire and Cornwall. The Cornish see had been removed from Bodmin to St. Germain's.—*Ib.* 79.

⁶ Founded in 680.—*Ib.* 107.

⁷ Founded in 680.—GODWIN, *De Præsul.* 447.

⁸ Sidnacester was founded in 678; Leicester, in 737. This

Northumbria became two dioceses, of which a see for the southern, was fixed at York;¹ for the northern, eventually, at Durham.² East-Anglia owned subjection to two prelates, during a considerable interval—an additional see having been established at Elmham. In later Saxon times, however, this arrangement was overthrown; the bishop of Elmham having under him all East-Anglia. At the Conquest, accordingly, England's ecclesiastical superiors were two archbishops, and thirteen bishops.—Wilton and Sherborne having merged in Salisbury, the two sees of Devonshire and Cornwall in that of Exeter.

For such variations in diocesan arrangements as might meet existing circumstances, provision had been made in the council of Hertford. It was there enacted, that as the faithful became more numerous, so should episcopal sees.³ No prelate was, however, to assume a discretionary power of providing for spiritual wants not placed regularly under his charge.

was soon transferred to Dorchester. That see was placed over also the diocese of Sidnacester, in the earlier part of the tenth century.—GODWIN, *De Præsul.* 281.

¹ Paulinus was nominally the first archbishop of York under the Anglo-Saxons; but he could not maintain his ground in Northumbria. After his flight, York remained without a prelate until the appointment of Chad in 664. From Chad, accordingly, the series of archbishops of York properly takes its beginning.

² The see of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, was founded in 635; this place having been burned, the bishop removed, in 882, to Chester-le-Street. In 995 the episcopal see was transferred to Durham. (LE NEVE, *Fasti*, 345. 346.) During a long period a see was established at Hexham, which had under its inspection a large portion of the modern diocese of Durham.

³ *Conc. Herudf.* can. 9. SPELM. i. 153. WILK. i. 43.

Every one was forbidden to interfere without his own diocese.¹ Precedence among bishops was regulated by the dates of their several consecrations.² Episcopal visitations were to be annually holden in suitable places throughout every diocese.³ But this provision appears to have been made rather on account of the laity than of the clergy. The visiting bishop was to dispense among his people that sound religious instruction which must have been insufficiently supplied in a country but ill provided with rural churches. Especially was he to warn them against pagan rites, usages, and impostures. On the death of a bishop the tenth part of all his movable property was to be distributed in alms among the poor, and every Englishman, reduced to slavery in his days, was to be manumitted.⁴ Of these charities, the reason assigned was, that he might obtain the fruit of retribution and indulgence of sins.⁵ An additional provision for the welfare of his soul was imposed upon the laity, who were to be summoned to their several churches, and to sing there thirty psalms. Four times that number were expected from prelates and abbots generally. They were also to celebrate one

¹ *Conc. Herudf.* can. 2.

² *Ib.* can. 8.

³ *Conc. Clovesh.* can. 3. *SPELM.* i. 246. *WILK.* i. 95. *Conc. Calc.* can. 3. *SPELM.* i. 293. *WILK.* i. 146.

⁴ Johnson understands here every English slave belonging to himself. This limitation is most probable, but it does not appear in the text.

⁵ “ Ut per illud sui proprii laboris fructum retributionis mereatur, et indulgentiam peccatorum.”—*Syn. ap Celych.* can. 10. *SPELM.* i. 330. *WILK.* i. 171.

hundred and twenty masses, and to manumit three slaves.¹

Candidates for the sacred profession were required to spend a month, before ordination, with the bishop, who was allowed this time for examining and instructing them. As to their literary proficiency, expectations were, of course, extremely moderate. But pains were to be taken for ascertaining the soundness of their belief, and their opinions on the divine attributes. They were also to display their acquaintance with the forms of public worship, and with such mystical significations as approved authorities had imposed upon its various features. Nor were inquiries to be forgotten upon their knowledge of the canons, and upon their competency to calculate the times for celebrating festivals and fasts.²

¹ *Syn. ap Celych.* can. 10. *SPELM.* i. 330. *WILK.* i. 171.

² Se þe haðer pilnige cume anum monðe ær þam hað-timan to þam b̄. 7 beo rýððan on fanbunge þær ge birceop tæce. 7 geparnige þ he hæbbe to þam fæce þa biẏpīrte on fōðan 7 on fōðpne þe he habban fceule. þ he mid þam þingum nan þing ne hefize. þæne he his fandian fceule. Gif he þonne mid þær lafeoper tacne to b̄ cume. þonne beo he haðe þenyn ẏif he fopð on eallum þam fylizean pille þe b̄ him pīrize. Ðonne iẏ æpērt his þære fandunge fnuma on hpilcan ẏeleafan he rý. 7 hu he rihtne ẏeleafan oðrum mannum ẏerputelian cunne. 7 hpæt he fputelice undeẏrtande þær þe þuph God ẏepearð. oð þon ẏýt ẏeþeopðan fceall. þonne hu he his þenunge cunne. 7 hu he fulluht undeẏrtande. 7 hu he mæfpan ẏetacnunge undeẏrẏte. 7 eac oðra cýnic-þenunga. 7 hpæþer he canon cunne. be ænigum dæle. þonne hu he on ẏenim-cnæfte ẏear-pýne to-fceadan cunne. Gif he þīrra þinga ealpa ẏepīf bið. þonne bið he haðer þe bet pýpðe. (*Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii.* 121. *Be Gehædedum Man-num.* *Of ordained men,* f. 34.) *Let him who desires ordination come one month before the ordination-time to the b̄, and be then upon examination under the bishop's teaching: and let him take care that he have for the time the provision in food and fodder which he should have, that he be not troubled about any of these things, while he shall be examined. If he come to the b̄. with*

The former kind of skill was requisite, both for comprehending the nature of clerical obligations, and for apportioning penances; the latter, for enabling clergymen to act as a sort of animated almanacks. At ordination, the porrection of sacred vessels was used, as it is now in the church of Rome. Simultaneously with this ceremony, when a priest was ordained, the bishop also said, "Take authority to offer sacrifice, and to celebrate mass, as well for the living as for the dead."¹ In the imposition of hands,

the instruction of a teacher, then he is the nearer ordination, provided he is henceforth willing to follow what the b. directs him. Then is first the beginning of his examination in what belief he may be, and what ability he has to explain a right belief to other men, and what he clearly understands of that which has been done by God, or yet shall be done: then how is his knowledge of divine service; and how he understands baptism; and how he comprehends the signification of the mass, and also of other church ministrations; and whether he knows the canons in any degree: then whether he knows enough of arithmetic to divide the year. If he be acquainted with all these things, then is he worthy of the ordination that he desires. An incidental presumption against the doctrine of transubstantiation appears fairly to arise from this extract. If a doctrine, so mysterious and incredible, had then been received by the English Church, it must appear strange that candidates for ordination should not have undergone a particular examination upon it. Instead of this, however, they were merely to be examined as to their acquaintance with the significations of the mass, and other divine offices. It was the usage to seek mystical, figurative meanings in all Scripture and religious formularies. To this egregious trifling, the examination, most probably, was to be directed. In the thirteenth century, however, when transubstantiation, both name and thing, had obtained a pretty secure establishment, very particular directions were given from authority for inculcating a belief in it.

¹ "Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Dō, missamque celebrare, tam pro vivis, quam et pro defunctis, in nomine Dñi."

however, the ancient church of England, like the modern, enjoined all priests present to unite with the bishop.¹

After ordination, a priest was to consider himself as wedded to his church, and hence formally precluded from any prospect of changing it for another.² He was also to keep clear of interference within the districts of brother clergymen.³ Nor was he to venture upon officiating in a strange diocese, until he had produced commendatory letters from his own bishop.⁴ Among duties expected of him appears to have been the education of youth.⁵ In the exercise

Fragment. libri Pontifical. pulcherrime et magnâ ex parte ante Conqu. Angl. scripti. (HICKES, ii. 220.) *Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Tiberius, C. 1. f. 158.*

¹ “Presbiter cum ordinatur, ep̄o eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus imponente, etiam om̄s presbiteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum ep̄i super caput illius ponant.”—*Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Claudius, A. 3. f. 45.*

² *Lýrice is mid rihte facendes ære.* (Be cýrican. *Of the Church.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 121. f. 58.) *The Church is with right a priest's wife.* Riht is þ ænig p̄neort gylf-piller ne forlæte þa cýrican þe he to gebletrod pær ac hæbbe þa him to riht ære. (Sinodal. Decret. 8. Ibid. f. 26.) *Right is that no priest of his own accord leave the church to which he was ordained, but keep to it as a right wife.*

³ Riht is þ nan p̄neort oðrum ne æt do ænig þæra þinga þe him to gebyrige ne on his mýnstr̄e ne on his geryft-gerice ne on his gylb-gerice ne on ænigum þæra þinga þe him to gebyrige. (Ibid. 9.) *Right is that no priest do any of those things that belong to another, either in his minster, or in his shrift-shire (district assigned to him for receiving confessions, i. e. parish), or in his guildship (sodality, of which he might be a member), or in any of the things that belong to him.*

⁴ *Conc. Herudf. can. 5.* SPELM. i. 153. WILK. i. 43.

⁵ *Capitul. incertæ editionis 20.* SPELM. i. 595. WILK. i. 270.

of his ordinary ministry, he was restrained from celebrating mass in private houses, unless in cases of sickness.¹ All the great luminaries of his profession most rigorously bound him to celibacy. Sacerdotal marriages were, indeed, commonly branded as execrable breaches of continence, and imaginary revelations threatened them with frightful retribution hereafter.² This rigour is, however, adverse to the

The body of canons among which this is found was compiled by Theodulf, bishop of Orleans. Johnson (*sub an.* 994) thinks them to have been translated into Saxon by Elfric, for the guidance of English clergymen.

¹ Riht is þ ænig p̃neort on ænigum huse ne mærrige butan on gehalȝode cýrcan butan hýt rý for h̃piles mannes ofer-ƿeocnesse (Sinodal. Decret. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. *Junii*, 121. f. 29.) *Right is that no priest mass in any house but in a hallowed church, unless it be for some man's over-sickness.*

² Leofan men in libro visionum is awriten hu þa mæsse-p̃neortas 7 þa diaconas þe misleofodan her on worulde ƿer on ƿitnunge ƿel h̃neoplice ȝereƿene ƿpa ƿpa ȝe encgel ȝerƿutelode on þære ȝerh̃ðe. Hi ƿtobon ȝebundenne þ h̃i abugan ne mihton to heardum ȝaȝlum æt heora h̃ricȝe on þa hellican fýre oð heora ȝýrðlaȝ 7 þa earman ƿiȝmen þe h̃i h̃ý ƿið forlaȝon ƿtobon ætƿoran heom fæste ȝetȝede on þam hellican fýre up of þone naȝðan ealle h̃ýnnende ærne ætȝæderne 7 ȝe deofol h̃i ber-ƿang ƿriðe ȝelome on heora ȝecýnðlum ƿpa ƿpa ȝe boc is ȝecȝð 7 ƿpa ƿpa ȝe encgel ȝæde on þære ȝerh̃ðe. Ðær ƿæron ȝemenȝde mæsse-p̃neortas 7 diaconas on þære cƿýlmincȝe forðam þe h̃i Ēriȝte nolðan clænlice þenian on h̃is clænum þeopdome. (Be Gehadedum Mannum. *Of Ordained Men.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. *Junii*, 121. f. 34.) *Be-loved men, in libro visionum, it is written how the mass-priests and the deacons who mislived here in the world, were in purgatory full cruelly beholden, even as the angel explained at the sight. They stood bounden, so that they could not stoop, to hard stakes at their backs in the hellish fire up to their girdles, and the wretched women who had been improperly connected with them stood before them, fast tied in the hellish fire ever burning upwards, and the devil lashed them very often on their middles, even as the book saith to us, and even as the angel said at the sight. There were mingled mass-priests and deacons in the torture, because they would not cleanly serve Crist in his clean service.*

general stream of human feeling, and it proved, accordingly, inoperative upon a large proportion of the less distinguished ecclesiastics. They seem to have urged in their own vindication, that Moses, and others among the most eminent of God's servants, were married men.¹ The apocryphal views of a future state, which aimed at striking terror into themselves and their wives, acted upon them, probably, as little else than provocatives to laughter. In most particulars their credulity was naturally that of their age, but personal considerations sharpen human wits; and, most probably, many a married Anglo-Saxon priest could see the ludicrous absurdity of tales invented for interfering with his own domestic comfort.

The Anglo-Saxon church, like that of Rome, used a gradation of inferior ministers. Elfric pronounces ecclesiastical orders to be the following seven:—ostiary, reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The ostiary was to keep the church-doors, and to ring the bell. The reader was to read in church, and to preach God's word. Perhaps the accustomed homily was often heard from his lips. The exorcist was to adjure malignant spirits. The acolyte was to hold the candle, or taper, when the Gospel was read, or the eucharist hallowed. The sub-deacon was to carry the vessels to the deacon, and to wait upon him at the altar. The deacon was to wait upon the officiating priest, to place the offerings upon the altar, and to read the Gospel. He might baptise, and administer the eucharist. Priests, how-

¹ See *Bampton Lectures*, 118.

ever, appear occasionally to have dispensed with his attendance at the altar, probably, from motives of economy. Such are stigmatised by Elfric as rather nominal members of the sacerdotal order, than really worthy of its privileges. Between the priesthood and the episcopate, Elfric allows no other difference than that of office; bishops being especially charged with certain duties, which might interfere with the regular engagements of ordinary priests. These duties are stated to be ordination, confirmation, the consecration of churches, and the care of God's rights.¹ Some authorities were not contented with resting episcopal superiority upon such narrow grounds. Another Anglo-Saxon enumeration of the seven ecclesiastical orders omits that of acolytes, and makes that of bishops the highest in the series.² Thus, evidently, there were those who looked upon the episcopate not only as a distinguished office, but also as a separate order. Both bishops and priests were under an awful expectation of leading their several flocks to the heavenly judgment-seat.³

¹ *Ælf. ad Wulfsin.* SPELM. i. 575. WILK. i. 251.

² DE OFFICIIS SEPTĒ GRADVVM. ("Ex S. Gregorio Papā." WANLEY. HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 220.) *Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Tiberius, C. 1. f. 85.*

³ After citing, with some laxity, Ezekiel's denunciation against the mercenary and unfaithful pastors of Israel (ch. xxxiv. 2, *et sequ.*), a Saxon homily proceeds: Eall þar is gecweden be biſcopum ⁊ be mæsse-pneostum. þe Godes folc on domeſ-dæg to þam dome lædan feolon: ælc þone dæl þe him heſ on life betæht wæs. (BE SACERDUM. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 22. f. 200.) *All this is said of bishops and mass-priests, who, God's folk on Doom's day, to the judgment shall lead; every one that portion which was committed to him here in life.*

pneost

In Anglo-Saxon times, monks ordinarily were not members of the priesthood. Every monastery numbered among its inmates one or more of the sacerdotal order, to minister in sacred things; but the community was chiefly composed of ascetic laymen. The whole monastic body was divided into four several branches. The most respectable of these consisted of monks permanently domesticated in some conventual foundation, under the discipline of an abbot. Another was made up of anchorites, or hermits. These recluses were expected to have resided some time in a regular abbey, and not to have withdrawn from it until they had exhibited a strict conformity to the system there. After such probation it was deemed allowable to retire into a solitary cell, for the purpose of continuing, with augmented rigour, the austerities exacted by monastic obligations.¹ A third class of monks, passing under the oriental name of *Sarabaites*,² comprised such aspirants after unusual

¹ "Anachoritarum vitam non improbo eorum, videlicet, qui in coenobiis regularibus instructi disciplinis ordinabiliter ad eremum secedunt, quibus est solitudo paradisus, et civitas carcer: ut activam vitam de labore manuum viventes exerceant, aut dulcedine contemplativæ vitæ mentem reficiant, fontem vitæ ore cordis sitiant, et eorum quæ retro sunt obliti ad ea ultrà non respiciant." —IVO, CARNOTEN. *Epist.* 192. Paris, 1610, p. 342.

² Du Cange says that there are various opinions upon the etymology of this word. He makes it, however, to have come from Egypt. Other authors have referred the origin of *Sarabaite* to the Hebrew סרסר, *refractory*. The correctness of this etymology appears to admit of no reasonable question. In the Cottonian MS., from which an extract is given below, Saxon equivalents are placed over several of the words. Over this stands *rylf-bemeþa læneopar*, *self-judging teachers*. Ivo of Chartres, in the epistle

strictness as had adopted the tonsure, but would not embrace any received rule, or remain within a monastery. These devotees resided, as heretofore, in private houses, sometimes three or four together, probably under such regulations of their own as suited their particular ideas or convenience. Ascetic fervour under such laxity would be very liable to evaporate; and hence abodes adapted for it, but upon this independent principle, could hardly fail to shock admirers of over-strained religious rigour. The Sarabaites, accordingly, are described as a grievous reproach upon their profession. But monachism found its principal source of obloquy and mortification in the *Gyrovagi*, or *wandering monks*. These were noisy claimants of extraordinary holiness, but, in reality, idle vagabonds, who preferred hypocritical mendicity to labour.¹ Of such traders in religion

cited above (p. 340), asks of monks, which is better, to live regularly in monasteries, “an fieri Sarabaitas, ut in privatis locis proprio jure vivant, et victum sibi de substantiâ pauperum per manum raptorum, et de fœnore negociatorum accipiant?”

¹ These monks appear from Ivo, in the epistle before cited, to have worn ordinarily the *melote*. (“Pellis ovina, ex Græco *μηλωτή*, a *μήλον*, *ovis*. *Melotes* pellis sordida, vel simplex, ex uno latere pendens, quâ monachi utuntur.” DU CANGE, *in voc.*) Elfric thus explains this term in his Glossary. *Melotes*, vel *Pera*: *zæten*, vel *hrocen rooc*: a *jacket* (rochet) of goatskin, or broken. Of the sanctimonious vagabonds who went about half-clad in these shaggy garments, Ivo proceeds to say (p. 342), “Verum cum quidam ex hâc professione in *melotis* suis vicos, castella, civitates girando perlustrent, humilitate vestium, vilitate ciborum, merita sua populis ostendant. Ambiunt fieri magistri qui nunquam fuerunt discipuli, deprimentes vitam omnium hominum, quia non sunt quod ipsi sunt. Hos nec eremitas computandos intelligo, nec coenobitas, sed *gyrovagos*, aut Sarabaitas.”

generally, the true character is highly sensual. These ostentatious pretenders to a self-denying piety seem, accordingly, to have been notorious for gross indulgence.¹

Had England adhered rigidly to the discipline provided by Theodore, the credit of monachism would not have been impaired by such impositions. Among the canons enacted at Hertford under that able metropolitan, one provides that monks shall remain stationary in the several monasteries to which they originally belonged, unless they could obtain the abbot's leave of absence, or removal.² The nature of a monastery, strictly governed, was no doubt very

¹ “ Monachorum quatuor genera esse manifestum est. Primum, *Coenobitarum*, hoc est, monasteriale militans sub regulâ vel abbate. Deinde, secundum genus est *Anachoritarum*, id est, heremitarum, qui non conversionis fervore novitio, sed monasterii probatione diuturnâ, didicerunt contra diabolum multorum solacio jam docti pugnare, et bene instructi fraternâ ex acie ad singularem pugnam heremi securi jam sine consolatione alterius, solâ manu vel brachio, contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum, Deo auxiliante, pugnare sufficiunt. Tertium vero monachorum teterrimum genus est *Sarabaitarum*, qui nullâ regulâ approbati experientiâ magistri, sicut aurum fornacis, sed in plumbi naturâ molliti, adhuc opibus servantes seculo, fidem mentiri Deo per tonsuram noscuntur. Qui bini, aut terni, aut certè singuli, sine pastore, non dominicis, sed suis inclusi ovilibus, pro lege est desideriorum voluptas: cum quicquid putaverint, vel elegerint, hoc dicunt sc̃m, et quod noluerint, hoc putant non licere. Quartum vero genus est monachorum, quod nominatur *Gyrovagum*; qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus, per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi, et nunquam stabiles, et propriis voluptatibus, et gulæ illecebris servientes, et per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis. De quorum omnium miserimâ conversatione melius est silere quam loqui.”—Regula S. Bened. *Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Tiberius, A. 3. f. 118.*

² *Conc. Herudf. can. 4. SPELM. i. 153. WILK. i. 43.*

much that of a penitentiary prison. Even serious minds would be, therefore, very liable to become weary of such an abode, after the sharp edges of remorse had worn away, or the flame of fanaticism had abated. But the monk dignified his adoption of the cloister as later enthusiasts have their identification with certain religious parties. He termed it his *conversion*, and claimed a degree of sanctity which challenged admiration from the mass of men. Hence he could hardly complain of regulations indispensable for preserving the respectability of a body so numerous as his. Especially, was it reasonable to impose all this rigour upon monastics, because abuses of their character were crying public evils, and because they were largely indebted to the national liberality. Not only did many noble foundations provide for their sustenance and security, but also, in common with the clerical body, they enjoyed important immunities. Ecclesiastical property was, indeed, ordinarily liable to assessment for the repairs of bridges and highways; for the maintenance of fortifications; and for providing forces against hostile incursions.¹ This threefold liability was termed in Latin, *Trinoda necessitas*, and it was a burden imposed upon landed possessions generally. There were, however, instances

¹ The three members of the *Trinoda Necessitas* were called, in Saxon, Bricg-bote, *Bridge-repair*; Buph-bote, *Town, or Castle-repair*; and Fyr, the *Army*. "Sometimes, instead of leaving the military contingent in uncertainty, the number of vassals and shields which the abbot was to send forth to the wars is specifically defined. In such a case, the land was held by military tenure."—PALGRAVE'S *English Commonwealth*, i. 157.

in which the Church was allowed the remarkable privilege of exemption from this triple charge.¹ Nor were any of her estates denied a more than ordinary degree of protection.²

The whole frame-work of Anglo-Saxon society was, indeed, religious. Voluntary associations, or *Sodalities*, answering to modern clubs, were common in the nation. The principal objects of these were mutual protection, assistance under unusual pecuniary calls,³ and conviviality. One mass, however, for deceased associates, another for those yet surviving, appears to have impressed a character of piety upon their meetings.⁴ One of their objects also was to provide *soul-shot* on the death of every member; so that his disembodied spirit might enjoy the full benefit of such services as were proffered by the Church. Eventually, religious houses entered into these combinations.⁵ In this case, the *Guild-ship*, as every

¹ PALGRAVE'S *English Commonwealth*, i. 159.

² *Conc. Becanc.* can. i. SPELM. i. 189. WILK. i. 57. *Conc. Bergh.* can. i. SPELM. i. 194. WILK. i. 60. The second canon, enacted at Berghamsted, imposes a fine of fifty shillings for violating the protection of the church. This was generally done by drawing offenders from sanctuary. But a law, guarding inviolability under a penalty so heavy, could hardly fail of throwing an unusual degree of security around all the church's rights and possessions.

³ As undertaking a journey, having a house burnt down, or being amerced in a fine.—HICKES, *Thes.* i. 21. 22.

⁴ This appears among the articles of a *Sodality* formed at Exeter.—*Ib.* 22.

⁵ Hickes has printed the articles of a *Sodality* formed of seven monasteries (*Thes.* i. 19), and he mentions a confederacy of this kind yet more numerous. (*Ib.* 20.) Both cases are, however,

such confederacy was vernacularly called, proposed an interchange of masses for the benefit of each other. But it is not likely that mutual protection for possessions and privileges was overlooked. Convivial or personal views were necessarily precluded.

In general terms, the king was bound, at his coronation, to respect ecclesiastical rights. He solemnly pledged himself to preserve the Church in real peace. But this pledge could not be redeemed, unless properties and privileges, legally bestowed upon her, were guarded from spoliation or encroachment. The Anglo-Saxon throne thus rested upon the basis of Christianity, and the king's duties were considered to be religious, no less than civil. Indeed, the former took precedence of the latter. Of the three royal engagements, that which provided for religion stood first.¹ England has, therefore, inherited a constitution from the most venerable antiquity, which recognises attention to the spiritual wants of men as the first and most important of a sovereign's duties.

posterior to the Conquest. Mr. Turner has an interesting chapter upon the *Guild-ship*.—*Hist. Angl. Sax.* iii. 98.

¹ “ In the name of Christ I promise three things to the Christian people, my subjects. First, that the church of God and all the Christian people shall always preserve true peace through our arbitration. Second, that I will forbid rapacity, and all iniquities to every condition. Third, that I will command equity and mercy in all judgments, that to me, and to you, the gracious and merciful God may extend his mercy.” (SILVER's *Coronation Service of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*. Oxf. 1831. p. 20.) The original of this oath is found in the British Museum among the Cottonian MSS. (*Claudius*, A. 3, f. 7.) The service, which is in Latin, and has been printed by Dr. Silver, together with his translation of it, is entitled in a hand of no great antiquity, *Coronatio Athelredi Regis Anglo-*

The coronation compact reminded an Anglo-Saxon monarch that his principal title to allegiance rested on his acting as the Christian head of a Christian people.

This character was impressed upon the nation by many statutes, and by severe penalties. The laws of Ina provided that parents should bring their children for baptism, within thirty days after birth, under forfeiture of as many shillings. If the infant died unbaptised, all the parent's property was forfeited.¹ Subsequently, the great festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide were the ordinary times for administering baptism;² but it was, on no account, to be delayed,

Saxonum. Dr. Silver, accordingly, entitles it *The Ceremony of the Consecration of King Ethelred II. A.D. 978.* "The word *consecrated* king occurs first in the *Saxon Chronicle* in the reign of Offa, king of Mercia, the contemporary of Charlemagne, about a thousand years since, and it is very probable that the ceremony of Ethelred was then used."—SILVER, 148.

¹ LL. INÆ, can. 2. SPELM. i. 183. WILK. i. 58.

² These festivals had long been signalled by the administration of baptism in the Roman church, and Charlemain rendered this usage general through the west. The fourth canon of the council of Mentz, holden under that famous emperor in 813, designates Easter and Whitsuntide as the legitimate times for baptising, and limits to them the administration of that sacrament, unless in cases of necessity. (LAEB. et COSS. vii. 1242.) In England this regulation had been solemnly enacted at Calcuith, in 787. (*Conc. Calc.* can. 2. SPELM. i. 293. WILK. i. 146.) Probably, however, it failed of meeting with universal acquiescence in this island; for the tenth, among the *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, enjoins baptism within nine days after birth, and imposes penalties for default. (SPELM. i. 496. WILK. i. 218.) Towards the close of the twelfth century this appropriation of Easter and Whitsuntide fell silently into desuetude, neither pope nor council authorising the change, or seemingly observing it.—DALLÆUS, *De Cultibus Religionis Latinorum*, Genev. 1671, p. 21.

whenever there was an appearance of danger to the child. It was administered by total immersion; and priests were expressly forbidden merely to pour water upon the head.¹ The child undertook, by his sponsors, to renounce the devil, with his works and pomps. Of this engagement, these individuals were carefully to apprise him, as his faculties opened; and they were to teach him, besides, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.² From the font it was also their duty to receive him, when baptism was completed.³

Anglo-Saxon ideas of female rights were just and liberal. Women were permitted to possess and dispose of property: nor was a person of any wealth enabled to marry, at all events, among his equals, until he had made a legal settlement upon his intended wife.⁴ It was, however, the usage of ancient England, as it also was of cognate nations,⁵ to withhold the formal conveyance of this provision until the morning after marriage. Hence the dowry of an Anglo-Saxon lady was called her *morning's gift*.⁶ Her friends had agreed upon a certain provision for her,

¹ *Syn. Celych.* can. 11. *SPELM.* i. 331. *WILK.* i. 171.

² *Conc. Calcuth.* can. 2. *SPELM.* i. 293. *WILK.* i. 146.

³ *JOHNSON, sub. an.* 785. Hence sponsors were called *susceptores*. Du Cange, *in voc.* *suscipere*.

⁴ For many interesting particulars respecting Anglo-Saxon marriages see *TURNER'S Hist. of the Angl. Sax.* iii. 68.

⁵ *HICKES, Thes.* Præf. xlii. "Every Saxon woman had her *mundbora*, or guardian, without whose consent she could not be married; and the remains of this custom may be traced in the *marriage-service*, when the clergyman asks, *Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?*"—*SILVER'S Coronation Service of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, 49.

⁶ *Morgen-gifte*, or *giftu*.

in the event of a proposed marriage ; and until the contract was completed on her part, the husband was not expected to complete it on his. But although the preliminaries of marriage were necessarily civil, due care was taken for impressing it, upon the whole, with a very different character. The mass-priest was to pronounce a solemn blessing at nuptial ceremonies, unless one or both of the parties had been married before.¹ England has, therefore, ever treated marriage as “ a holy estate,”—a contract essentially different from any other mutually made among Christians. Of this wise and Scriptural view the natural consequence was, that death alone was ordinarily considered a sufficient release from the nuptial tie.² Marriage was forbidden within four degrees of consanguinity : men were also prohibited from marrying their godmothers, or nuns, or divorced women, and from taking a second wife while the former one survived.³ Second marriages, indeed, under any circumstances, were met by an ascetic principle of discouragement. A layman, who had lost his wife, was allowed to take another ; nor was a widow denied a similar privilege. But such liberty was treated as a concession to the infirmity of the flesh, which could expect nothing beyond connivance. The Church did not venture to approve : the priest was, accordingly,

¹ *LL. Edm. R. Angl.* can. 8. *SPELM.* i. 426. *WILK.* i. 217.

² The council of Hertford allowed a man to dismiss his wife *fornicationis causâ*. But then it bound him, as he valued the name of Christian, to live single afterwards, unless he became reconciled to the offending woman.—*Conc. Herudf.* can. 10. *SPELM.* i. 153. *WILK.* i. 43.

³ *Conc. Ænh.* can. 6. *WILK.* i. 287.

to withhold his blessing. He was even prohibited from attending the nuptial feast; and the parties were to learn that they had committed an offence, for which a formal penance must atone.¹

As a belief in some sort of posthumous purgation reserved for human souls was general among the Anglo-Saxons, few persons of much opulence departed from life without having made a provision for their *soul-shot*.² By this payment, clerical services were secured for the deceased's funeral, and prayers for the repose of his departed spirit. It was, most probably, with a view to render him the latter service, that mourning friends passed the night around his corpse. The *wakes* of ancient England led, however, to the same abuses as those of modern Ireland. The assembly was often rather one of gross revellers, than of pious mourners.³ If the party had noto-

¹ *Ælf. ad Wulfsin.* SPELM. i. 574. WILK. i. 251. *Excerpt. Egb. Archiep. Ebor.* 89. SPELM. i. 267. ap. WILK. can. 91. i. 101. The Church of England here, as elsewhere, followed foreign churches. Mabillon says, in a note to his *Museum Italicum* (*Lut. Par.* 1687. tom. i. p. 389): “Antiquissima est in ecclesiâ benedictio super nubentes, *super secundo nubentes rarior.*” Both Egbert and Elfric, indeed, adopt the seventh canon of the council of Neo-Cæsarea, holden in 314. (LABB. et COSS. i. 1487.) But that canon has been understood as levelled against a plurality of wives, which construction it will bear. Elfric has expressly applied it to a second marriage, contracted by a widower or widow.

² *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 53. HICKES, *Thes.* tom. 1. “Nothing can more strongly express the importance and necessity of this custom, than that several of their gilds seem to have been formed chiefly with a view to provide a fund for this purpose.”—TURNER'S *Hist. of the Angl. Sax.* iii. 146.

³ Sume menn eac ðrincað æt ðeað manna lice ofæn ealle þa niht fpiðe unrihtlice. ⁊ gremiað God mid heora gegaf fppæce. þonne nan

riously spent a religious life, his body might be interred within the church.¹ Thus an usage, which has long been merely one among the distinctions of opulence, originated in veneration for acknowledged piety. The relics of martyrs, indeed, honourably enshrined in places of primitive worship, appear to have supplied the precedent on which have arisen the sepulchral glories of later churches.²

The Anglo-Saxon churches were separated regularly from profane uses, by the imposing solemnity of episcopal consecration. This ancient³ and becoming ceremony was performed with great magnificence, when the building to be dedicated was of superior importance.⁴

ebedu

gebeorcipe ne gehýnað æt lice ac halige gebedu þær gehýnað gwiðor.
(*Hom. in St. Swithun.* Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON. *Julius*, E. 7. f. 99.) *Some men also drink at a dead man's wake, over all the night very unrightly, and provoke God with their idle talk: when no drinking-party is suitable for a wake, but holy prayers are rather suitable to it.*

cyemðe

¹ Riht is þ man innan cýrican ænig man ne býrige butan man rice
þ he on life Gode to þam wel ge^cemðe þ man þurh þ læte þ he
gý þær lægeneþ pýrðe. *Sinodal. Decret.* 29. *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii*, 121. f. 27.) *Right is that no man be buried within a church, unless it be known that in life he was well pleasing to God, that through that he be deemed worthy of his resting-place.*

² “ Churches were commonly built over the sepulchres of the martyrs, or in the places where they suffered, or else the relics of the martyrs were translated into them.”—BINGHAM'S *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, i. 327.

³ It is known that churches were regularly consecrated in the fourth century, and it is probable that this usage is of much higher antiquity. (*Ib.* 324.) All schisms and irregularities were provided against by making episcopal consent necessary even to the building of a church. This was done by the council of Chalcedon, and by the emperor Justinian.—*Ib.* 325.

⁴ In the life of Ethelwold, attributed to Wolstan, are some curious Latin verses, describing the consecration of Winchester Cathedral in 980.—*Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* v. 621.

Nor even in ordinary cases was its memory allowed to fall into oblivion, but annual solemnities taught a surrounding population to hail the happy day which had opened a house of God within an easy distance. Of this ancient religious holiday traces linger yet in our country villages. The petty feast or fair, now merely a yearly provocative to rustic revelry, commonly originated in the day when episcopal benediction hallowed that venerable pile which has trained so many generations for immortality. Anglo-Saxon churches, even of some note, were often built of wood:¹ hence *timbering* was the word in ordinary use for building.² When more durable materials were employed, the architects followed existing Roman models with as much fidelity as their own skill and that of their workmen would allow. This is proved sufficiently by specimens yet remaining. Their edifices naturally present some peculiarities, for which not even a hint is found in buildings of classical antiquity. But in general character, Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman buildings are little else than rude imitations of Roman architecture. A Norman clerestory window, centrally placed in the western

¹ Finan placed his episcopal seat at Lindisfarne in such a church. (BED. iii. 25, p. 233.) The venerable historian, however, speaks of this as done *more Scotorum*. Hence it seems reasonable to infer that the more considerable Anglo-Saxon churches were ordinarily of stone. An ancient church of timber yet exists at Greensted, near Ongar, in Essex.

² Even where an erection was not of timber that word was in use. Thus the *Saxon Chronicle* (p. 202.) says that Canute had built (*timbered* in the original) at Assingdon, "a minster of stone and lime for the souls of the men who were there slain."

side of the north transept of St. Frideswide's church, at Oxford, even exhibits an Ionic volute. The opposite pilaster seems to have been intended for Corinthian.

Both vocal and instrumental music being used in public worship, the Anglo-Saxons were glad of organs for their larger churches. They were no strangers to that noblest of instruments early in the eighth century; and in the tenth, one of enormous size was erected at Winchester.¹ Seventy men, forming two companies which worked alternately, supplied it with wind. In the cathedral, probably, were many unglazed apertures; otherwise, machinery so colossal must have emitted sound almost beyond endurance.

Among the uses to which Anglo-Saxon churches were applied, was one inherited from Pagan times. The heathen warrior under accusation solemnly protested his innocence, offering to prove it by some hazardous appeal to his paternal gods. He would thus enter upon a field highly favourable for the display of stern, impudent daring, abject superstition, and serpentine cunning—the most striking distinctions of savage life. Hence this picturesque experiment was emphatically called *ordal*, or *ordeal*,

¹ A description of the organ discovered by Mr. Turner, in Aldhelm *De Laude Virginum*, proves that instrument to have been known in England before the poet's death in 709. Dr. Lingard subsequently cited a passage from the *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* in which Wolstan's muse celebrates the prodigious organ provided for the cathedral of Winchester by Elphege.—*Hist. of the Angl. Sax.* iii. 457, 458. *Antiqu. de l'Egl. Angl. Sax.* 575.

a northern word, signifying *the judgment*; ¹ as if it were a mode of trying guilt or innocence, satisfactory above all others. On the Anglo-Saxon conversion, this absurd, collusive, presumptuous, and superstitious test of integrity, was continued under Christian forms. An accused party, desirous of thus vindicating his character, was to give personal notice of such intention to the priest, three days before the time appointed. On these three days he was to live only on bread, salt, water, and herbs. He was regularly to attend mass, and make his offering on each day. On the day of his trial he was to receive the eucharist, and to declare his innocence upon oath. Fire was then to be carried into the church if the intended ordeal required it. This being done, the priest and the accused were to go into the church together, but no one was to be there besides. If hot iron were the test, a space was to be measured for carrying it exactly nine times the length of the accused party's foot. Notice was next given to the friends without, that the required heat had been reached, and two of them were to enter, one for the

¹ "Urðel, igitur, Saxonice, orðal, verbale est a veteri Franco, vel Teutonico, Urðela, *judicare*." (*Dissertatio Epistolaris*, 149. HICKES, *Thes.* tom. 1.) Dr. Hickes quotes the Cottonian harmony of the Gospels for this opinion, a venerable remain of antiquity then existing only MS. It was published at Munich in 1830, from a MS. formerly belonging to the cathedral of Bamberg. The word *urdeles*, as Hickes gives it, or *urdelies*, as it stands in print, occurs in ll. 13. 14. p. 43, of the published *Harmony*, or *Heliand*, as it is entitled. In the Saxon laws it is plain that *ordeal* means properly not the trial abstractedly, but the heated iron or other substance used.

accuser, the other for the accused, to ascertain this. Their report being satisfactory, twelve were to enter on either side, and to range themselves opposite each other along the church : no further heating was allowed. Holy water was then to be sprinkled upon the whole party ; they were to kiss the Gospels and the cross, and a service was to be read. At the last collect, the iron, if this were the test, was to be removed from the fire, and laid upon a supporter at the end of the nine measured feet. From this, the accused was to remove it, his hand being previously sprinkled with holy water. He was only required to carry it along three of the nine feet, on reaching the last of which he was to throw it down, and hasten to the altar : there his hand was to be bound and sealed up. On the third day afterwards this bandage was to be opened, but not before. If the trial consisted in removing a heavy substance out of boiling water, when the two witnesses entered the church the same formalities were enjoined. Another ordeal was by casting the accused person into water, bound by a rope, and if he sank immediately he was declared innocent.¹

Of these presumptuous absurdities, the red-hot iron ordeal appears to have been most in favour. It was, indeed, obviously the safest. The accused had scarcely to take the burning mass into his hand before he was allowed to throw it down. For this brief

¹ *LL. Æthelst.* can. 5. *SPELM.* i. 399. *Ejusd. R. LL. quæ in Saxonico desiderantur*, can. 8. p. 404. The service provided for ordeals was published by Brown in the *Fasciculus Rerum Expetend. et Fugiend.* from the *Textus Roffensis*.

interval most men probably gave the skin some preparation. It was not, besides, expected that the hand would remain unburnt. Innocence was established if the priest, after three days, pronounced the injured part to be healthy. Thus a good constitution, or even a priest inclined to be merciful, could hardly fail of acquitting the bulk of men tried in this way. In some instances, there can be no reasonable doubt, a bribe secured mercy from the priest. Most cases he would be likely to consider as calling for no very rigorous scrutiny. The Roman church very properly refused encouragement to such modes of tempting providence, and to her hierarchy Europe was eventually indebted for their discontinuance.¹

¹ "It does not appear that the Church of Rome ever gave countenance to it; and it is a very singular instance of a gross corruption that it had not the pope or his creatures for its author. If it ever was directly authorised by any council in a foreign church it was only by some new converts in Germany in the ninth century. The council of Mentz, 847, c. 24, enjoins the ordeal of ploughshares to suspected servants. But to give the pope, I mean Stephen V., his due, he presently condemned it in an epistle to the Bishop of Mentz, in whose diocese it chiefly prevailed. Nay, Alexander II., the Conqueror's own ghostly father, absolutely forbade it. The first prohibition of ordeal mentioned by Sir H. S." (Spelman) "here in England, is in a letter from King Henry III. to his justices itinerant in the north, in the third year of his reign. Yet this learned knight observes, that eight years after this he granted the religious of Sempringham power to administer it. Great lawyers have said that it was suppressed by act of Parliament in the third year of his reign. But the record mentions only the king's letter, and the king's letter says it was done by the advice of his council, and gives this only reason, that *it was forbidden by the church of Rome.*" (JOHNSON, *sub. an.* 1065. can. 2.) Ordeals, however,

As ordeals were esteemed a branch of civil jurisprudence, they were forbidden on days consecrated to religion. The same prohibition lay against judicial oaths.¹ Connected with such suspensions of ordinary business, was a regulation of the last importance in an age of violence and insecurity. The days that forbade an ordeal and a solemn oath, forbade also men's angry passions from venting themselves in warlike outrage. On these days the church mercifully proclaimed a general truce, and her holy voice was wisely seconded by the civil power. Thus, ferocious overbearing violence was continually arrested in its merciless career, and religion provided regular respites for the weak, which laws merely human could not safely promise. Happily the days were numerous on which the church insisted upon peace. In every year whole seasons were thus kindly consecrated. The truce of religion extended from the beginning of Advent until the eighth day after the Epiphany; from Septuagesima until the octaves of Easter; from Ascension day until the same time after Whitsunday; and through all the Ember weeks. Besides this the holy truce began at three o'clock on every Saturday afternoon, and lasted until Monday morning. The

cannot be accurately taken as extinguished under Henry III. For the trial by wager of battle is a mere ordeal, and the legal extinction of this is very recent. It was introduced under the Conqueror. A trace of the water ordeal lingered among the common people until the last century, in their disposition to try barbarous experiments upon unhappy creatures accused of witchcraft.

¹ *LL. Edov. Sen. et Guth. RR.* c. 9. *SPELM.* i. 393. *WILK.* i. 203.

same happy privilege secured a joyful welcome for all the principal saints' days, and within particular districts for the festivals of those saints to whom their churches were severally dedicated. The eve came, and ferocity was hushed. Protection, also, was at all times extended to persons in their way to or from a church, or a synod, or a chapter.¹ Disregard of these provisions was properly cognisable before the bishop. If his authority were neglected or defied, it was to be rendered available in the civil courts.²

It was among the evils of religious usages introduced from Rome, that they tended to confirm the superstition of barbarian converts. A rude and ignorant populace could not fail of considering as powerful charms those substances which the church invested with a venerable character. Nor were the clerical members of such a community often likely to disturb the prejudices of their contemporaries. It appears accordingly, that water, oil, and other like ingredients, in Romish worship, were esteemed efficacious for eradicating bodily disease.³ There is, indeed, always this

¹ *LL. Eccl. S. Edw. R. et Conf.* c. 3. *SPELM.* i. 619. *WILK.* i. 311.

² *Ib.* c. 7.

³ *Mið halegum wætere he gehælde sum wif. þær ealdormannes ære fram earmliceþe coðe. ⁊ heo ðona zerguð him sylfum þenode. Eft on þære ylcan tide he mið ele smýrde an licgende mæden on langrumum rære þurh hefig-týmum heafod-ece. ⁊ hine ðona wæs bæst. Sum eapfægt wæs wæs eac ýfele gehæfð. ⁊ læg æt forð-riðe his freondum oppene: Ða hæfðe heora sum haligne hlaf þone þe ge eadiga wæs ær gebletode. ⁊ he þæne þær-rihte on wætern bedýrte. ⁊ his adligum mæge on þone muðe bezeat. ⁊ he þær-rihte þære adle zergulde. (*Hom. in Nat. S. Cuthb. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. BODLEY,* 340. f. 65.) *With holy water he healed a woman, the alderman's**

danger when material objects are connected with ordinary devotion. To the reflecting few these may be only interesting relics of a distant age: among the thoughtless many they will certainly find aliment for a grovelling superstition.

No feature was, however, more exceptionable in Anglo-Saxon theology than the penitential system. It might seem a very desirable check upon human corruption, especially among a gross and barbarous people, that every offence should rigorously exact a proportionable penalty. Nor, undoubtedly, could the solemn recognition of such a principle fail to render important public services. Yet these were far less than might have resulted from the system nakedly considered. Fasts of months or years, or even of a whole life, were denounced against iniquities according to their several magnitudes. But then all this rigour was open to commutation. The same authority that had provided a scale of personal austerity had also provided an equivalent scale far more agreeable. If a penitent were disquieted by the prospect of a day's fast, a penny would release him from the obligation.¹

wife, from a miserable disease, and she, soon sound, waited upon himself. Afterwards at the same time, he with oil smeared a maiden lying in long affliction, through a grievous head-ache, and she was soon better of it. A certain pious man was also very ill, and lay at the point of death given over by his friends. One of these had some holy bread which the blessed man formerly consecrated, and he dipped it immediately in water, and moistened his kinsman's mouth with it, and he immediately assuaged the disease.

¹ *Man may one day's fast with one penny redeem.* (WANLEY apud HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 146.) Undoubtedly the Saxon penny answered to three of modern times, and the existing value of money rendered it a sum worth considering.

If he had incurred a more than common liability of this kind he might build a church, and ecclesiastical authorities would pronounce him free.¹ Thus wealthy sinners found no great reason to tax the penitentials with intolerable severity. Nor was poverty left under the necessity of drawing an opposite conclusion. The repetition of psalms was pronounced highly meritorious.² Hence he who shrank from a fast, yet wanted means to commute it for money, might still appease an accusing conscience by a proportionate number of psalms.³ Among the reading and thinking few doubts appear to have been occasionally felt 'as to

¹ *Amends for deeds are provided in various ways. A great man may redeem with alms. Let him who has the power rear a church in God's honour, and, if he have an opportunity, let him give land thereto.*—WANLEY apud HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 198.

² "Delet peccata." (*Bibl. Lameth. MSS.* 427. f. 1.) The second leaf of this MS. contains the following prayer: "Suscipere dignare Dñe dñs omps hos psalmos consecratos quos ego indignus et peccator decantare cupio in honorem nominis tui dñi nri Ihu Xpi, et beatæ Mariæ semper virginis, et omnium scorum, pro me misero infelici, et pro cunctis facinoribus meis, sive factis, sive dictis, sive cogitationibus concupiscentus iniquitatibus, sive omnibus negligentis meis magnis ac minimis; ut isti psalmi proficiant mihi ad vitam æternam, et remissionem omnium peccatorum et spatium adjuvando, et vivam penitentiam faciendo: per." Wanley refers this MS. vol. generally to the time of Edgar, or even to an earlier date; but he pronounces the prayer above, and many other things in the book, to have been written at a period far more recent.—HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 268.

³ *He who owes one week on bread and water, let him sing 300 psalms, kneeling, or 320 without kneeling, as it is said above. And he who must do penance a month's space on bread and water, let him sing a thousand psalms and 200 kneeling, and without kneeling* 1680. — *Pœnitentiale D. Egbert. Arch. Ebor.* i. 2. WILK. i. 115.

the soundness of this system ; for it is recommended that repentance should not cease, although discipline may require nothing further, it being uncertain what value God may put upon such services.¹ But an observation of this kind was likely to pass unheeded amidst a vast mass of matter far more popular. Hence Anglo-Saxon penitential doctrines were calculated, upon the whole, to serve sound religion and morality very uncertainly and equivocally.

A party striving for ascendancy is naturally prone to magnify those who raise its credit. If religious, it proclaims the superior morality of its more serviceable members. Anglo-Saxon efforts for extirpating paganism and establishing monachism were thus facilitated. To many devotees, conspicuous for zeal or self-denial, was attributed a saintly character, and eventually their tombs were eagerly frequented as the seats of miraculous agency. Nor did their posthumous importance fade until the Reformation. Even then long prescription, and services really rendered in

¹ *If a layman slay another without guilt, let him fast VII. years on bread and water, and then III. as his confessor teaches him : and after the VII. years' amends, let him ever earnestly repent of his misdeeds, as far as he may, because it is unknown how acceptable his amends may be with God.* (WANLEY apud HICKES, *Thes.* ii. 146.) Dr. Lingard, by saying that Theodore published a code of laws for the imposition of *sacramental* penance (*Antiqu. of the Angl. Sax. Ch. Fr. Transl.* p. 246), might lead his readers to suppose that the Anglo-Saxons had anticipated the schoolmen upon such subjects. The passage, however, here translated from Wanley's Saxon extract, sufficiently shews that there was no such anticipation. For further information upon Anglo-Saxon penitential doctrines, see *Bampt. Lect.* Sermon V. with the *Proofs and Illustrations.*

some cases to religion, pleaded successfully against a total exclusion of such names from the national calendar. Others of them have escaped oblivion from local associations.

Upon several among these ancient saints sufficient notice has already been bestowed incidentally. Chad, whom Theodore displaced from York and subsequently seated at Lichfield, may be further mentioned because the homily for his day proves wheel-carriages to have been then in use. Theodore found him in the habit of undertaking pedestrian journeys far above his strength to preach the Gospel. He not only mounted him on horseback, but insisted also on his using a *horse-wain* occasionally.¹

Another exemplary personage whom Theodore drew from monastic privacy to episcopal cares, was Cuthbert, the saint of Durham. Few authentic particulars respecting him are, however, extant, beyond his great reluctance to become a bishop, and his rigid perseverance, after yielding to such compulsion, in the monkish dress and diet.²

¹ Hine se arcebiſcōp mid his aſenne hond on horre abor. forðon he hine ſwiðe haligne þer gemette. ⁊ he hine nedde ꝥ he ſpa hider on horre-ſeġen ſere. ſpa hit neoð-þearfe ſere. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 24. Hom. 1.) *Him the archbishop with his own hand mounted on a horse, because he found him a very holy man: he compelled him also to travel about in a horse-wain, if the case required.* St. Chad's conveyance was, probably, a rude specimen of that kind, known latterly as the taxed cart. Chad had a brother of the same name, who was bishop of London.

² Æfter þýrrum forðum pearð gemot gehæfd. ⁊ Ecgeſſiður þær on geſæt. ⁊ Deodoſur þýſer iſlanðes arcebiſcop. mid manegum oðrum geðungenum pitum. ⁊ hi ealle anmodlice þone eadigan Luðberhſur to hircœpe gecuron. Ða rændon heo ſona geſſiður mid þam ærende to þam eadigan ſere. ac hi ne mihton hine of his mýnſtre gebriſgan.

arcebi
ſep

Luðberh

^d
Eldred, Ethelred, or Audrey, Ely's great attraction, was chiefly famed for an invincible refusal to gratify either of her husbands, and an ascetic piety hardly reconcilable with strict cleanliness.¹ Her death seems to have happened rather suddenly, from an operation undertaken by some empiric, as he thought,

Da neop se cyning sylf Ecgfridu to þam ȝlande. 7 Trumwine biſceop mid oðrum eapfæſtum perum. 7 hi þone halgan ȝriðe halgudon. heopa cneopu biȝdon. 7 mid tearum bædon. oððæt hi hine pepende of þam perſene atugon to þam ȝinoðe ȝamoð mid him. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. BODLEY, 340. *Hom. in Nat. S. Cuthb.* f. 64.) *After this an assembly was holden, and Ecgfridus sate therein, and Theodorus, archbishop of this island, with many other noble counsellors, and they all unanimously chose the blessed Cuthberth²us as bishop. Then they quickly sent a writ with a message to the blessed man; but they could not bring him from his minster. Then rowed the king himself Ecgfridus to the island (Lindisfarne), and bishop Trumwine, with other pious men, and they much besought the saint, bent their knees, and begged with tears, until they drew him weeping from the solitude to the synod together with them. In the same folio we learn, that, after Cuthbert became bishop, Nolde apendan his ȝepunelician biȝ-leoƿan. ne niȝ ȝepæda þe he on perſene hæfde. He would not change his accustomed food, nor his weeds that he had in the solitude.*

“Notwithstanding the great character of Cuthbert's piety, 'tis plain he sided with King Ecgfrid and Theodore against Wilfrid: and, by consequence, took no notice of the sentence in Wilfrid's favour, decreed by the Roman synod. Had not the case stood thus, he would never have made use of King Ecgfrid's recommendation, nor have accepted the see of Holy Island, which was part of Wilfrid's jurisdiction; and taken out of the diocese of York, against his consent.”—COLLIER, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 110.

¹ “After her entrance therein (the monastery of Ely), she ever wore woollen, and never linen about her; which, whether it made her more holy, or less cleanly, let others decide.” (FULLER, *Church Hist.* 91.) The homily adds to the account of her dress, that she polde ȝeld-hƿænne hiȝe lic baðian butan to heah tȝidum 7 þonne heo polde ænert ealle þa baðian þe on þam mȝnſtpe ƿærouⁿ. 7 polde him þenian mid hiȝe ðinenum. 7 þonne hi ȝylfe baðian. (Brit. Mus. MSS.

successfully; but his patient died on the third day afterwards.¹ Her virginity was regarded as indisputable, because her body was found undecomposed, sixteen years after death. Such a deviation from the ordinary course of nature was, indeed, regularly considered as a proof of unbroken continence.²

The memory of Frideswide yet lingers at Christchurch, pre-eminent even in Oxford, among seats and seminaries of learning and religion. She was daughter of Didan, a princely chieftain who ruled in that venerable city with some sort of delegated authority.³ Her title to saintly honours appears to

COTTON, *Julius*, E. 7. f. 93.) *would rarely bathe her body unless on high days, and then she would first have all them bathe who were in the minster, and would wait upon them with her maids, and then bathe herself.*

¹ Ða pær þær sum læce on þam geleaffullum heape. Cýnefrýð gehaten. 7 hi cwædon þa rume þ̅ 7e læce sceolde arceotan þ̅ 7eppell. Ða dyde he gona rpa. 7 þær rah-ut pýrnur. pearð him þa geðuht spilec heo gepurpan mihte. ac heo gepat of porulde to Gode on þam þriddan dæge rýððan 7e dolh pær geopenod. (*Ib.*) *There was a certain physician in the believing company, named Cynefryth, and some people told her that this physician would reduce the swelling, which he soon did, and relieved her from the pain. He thought that she might recover, but she passed out of the world with glory to God, on the third day after the ulcer was opened. The ulcerated tumour which had so fatal a result, was under the chin, and Etheldred appears to have considered it as a sort of judgment for the pleasure that she had formerly taken in wearing necklaces.*

² Hit is rputol þ̅ heo pær ungepemde mæden. þonne hipe lichama ne mihte formolpnan on eorðan. (*Ib.* f. 94.) *It is manifest that she was an undefiled maiden, when her body could not decompose in the ground.*

³ In one of the Bodleian MSS. (*Laud.* 114.) containing lives of saints, and St. Austin *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, Frideswide's father is called a *subregulus*. f. 132.

have rested on a determination to live as a nun rather than as a distinguished married lady.¹

Edmund, king of East-Anglia,² to whose admitted sanctity the Suffolk Bury owed eventually a splendid abbey, was unmercifully scourged against a tree by some Danish pirates; and, like another Sebastian, then transfixed with spears. The pagan bigotry of these fierce invaders formed a hateful contrast with the Christian resignation of their victim. Hence pious minds embalmed the memory of Edmund, and monastic revenue was certain to wait on his remains. His head being stricken off, was cast into a tangled thicket. There, ancient legends tell, it found protection from a hungry beast of prey. Perhaps a modern might suppose the animal to have been restrained by fear; for the same authorities that commemorate its abstinence, record another circumstance fully as remarkable. Different individuals of a party, scattered in a wood, were in the habit of calling out occasionally, "Where art thou, comrade?" To those in quest of Edmund's head the usual answer, "Here, here, here," was regularly returned from a single spot. To this all the stragglers

¹ "Migravit igitur beata Fritheswitcha virgo ad dñm quarto decimo Kalendas Novembris; anno ab incarnatione dñi septingentesimo vicessimo septimo." *Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Nero. E. 1. f. 363.*

² Crowned at Bury, his royal residence, in 856, being then fifteen, and slain in 870. (ASSER, 14, 20.) He met his death at Hoxne, in Suffolk. The Danes were commanded by Hinguar, as the homily spells his name, but it is more usually spelt without the aspirate.

naturally repaired, and were amazed on finding every reply to have come from no other than the object of their search, respectfully guarded within the claws of a wolf.¹

Among the northern saints was Oswald, king of

¹ This is gravely introduced into the service for St. Edmund's day. "Dani vero relinquentes corpus, caput in silvâ recedentes asportaverunt, atque inter densa veprium fruticeta occultârunt. Quibus abeuntibus, Christiani corpus invenientes, caput quesierunt; atque Ubi es? aliis ad alios in silvâ clamantibus, caput respondit *Her, Her, Her*, quod est, *Hic, Hic, Hic*. (*Breviar Sarisb.* 20 Novem.) The wolf's connexion with this extraordinary head is detailed in another lesson. It will, probably, be generally thought, that a prayer-book prescribing such lessons was not reformed before its time. The homily is amusingly picturesque. *Hī eodon þa recende ealle endemer· 7 rymle clýpigende· rpa rpa hīc gepunelic iſ þam þe on puda gað oft· Hwær eart þu· gefena· 7 him andpýnde þ hearod· Her· Her· Her· 7 rpa gelome clýpode· andſparigende him ealum· rpa oft rpa heora ænig clýpode· oð þ hī ealle becomen ðurh ða clýpunga him to· Ða læg ſe gſnæge pulſ þe beſiſte þ hearod· 7 mid hīſ tſam ſorum hæfde þ hearod beclýpped· gſnædig 7 hungnig· 7 ſoſ Eode ne doſſſte þæſ hæfdeſ abýnian· 7 heold hīſ pið deor· Ða purdon hī ofpundſode þæſ pulſeſ hýndſnædenne· 7 þ halige hearod ham ſeſedon mid him· þancigende þam Ælmihtigan ealra hīſ pundſa· Æc ſe pulſ ſolgoðe ſoſð mid þam hearde· oð þ hī to tūne comon· ſſiſce he tam pæne· 7 geſende eft piððan to puda ongean·* (*Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Julius, E. 7. f. 203. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodley, 343.*) *They went then seeking all together, and constantly calling, as is the wont of those who oft go into woods, Where art thou, comrade? And to them answered the head, Here, Here, Here. Thus all were answered as often as any of them called, until they all came through the calling to it. There lay the grey wolf that guarded the head, and with his two feet had the head embraced, greedy and hungry, and for God durst not taste the head, and held it against wild beasts. Then were they astonished at the wolf's guardianship, and carried the holy head home with them, thanking the Almighty for all his wonders. But the wolf followed forth with the head, until they came to town, as if he were tame, and after that turned into the woods again.*

Northumbria. He had, indeed, fairly earned respectful remembrance in that part of England. It was largely indebted to him for conversion. But he rendered this important service by means of a native church. His invitation brought Aidan from Scotland; and that missionary's dialect being ill understood in Northumbria, Oswald acted as interpreter. His charitable disposition was displayed in the surrender of an Easter dinner, and of the silver dish containing it, to a crowd of hungry poor waiting for his alms. To this incident Oswald, identified completely as he was with the national party, seems to have been largely indebted for posthumous reverence. As he pointed to the dish, and so liberally directed its appropriation, Aidan said, *May that blessed hand defy corruption*. Soon afterwards, Oswald fell in battle, and his right hand, being found possessed of properties decidedly antiseptic,¹ became invaluable for strengthening a monastic treasury.

The fens of Lincolnshire gloried in an anchorite named Guthlac.² Originally, he was little better than

¹ *Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Julius. E. 7. ff. 152. 153.* "Grant this miracle of Oswald's hand literally true in the latitude thereof; I desire any ingenuous papist to consider the time wherein it was acted. It was Easter-day, yea, such an Easter-day as was celebrated by the Quartodecimans, Aidan being present thereat, contrary to the time which the canons of Rome appointed. Now, did not a divine finger in Oswald his miraculous hand point out this day then to be truly observed? Let the Papists produce such another miracle to grace, and credit their Easter, Roman style, and then they say something to the purpose."—FULLER, *Ch. Hist.* 82.

² This is, probably, the *Goodlake* of modern English surnames. Guthlac's parents were of some distinction, and lived in the time

a bold marauder ; but higher principles gained upon him in early manhood, and overwhelmed him with remorse.¹ He sought Croyland² for his hermitage, as being a spot unusually repulsive. His choice eventually caused a spacious monastery to rear its majestic head over the watery waste. Improvements immediately began, which have gradually converted barren marshes into fruitful fields. Many similar services have been rendered by the Church. A long succession of owners, always resident, often intelligent, have taught repeatedly the dreary wilderness to supply no unimportant measure of a nation's wealth.

The Anglo-Saxons, it has commonly been supposed, were provided with a complete vernacular translation of Holy Scripture. No such volume has, however, been discovered. Hence the existence of such, at any time, is very questionable. The Bible, in fact, was evidently considered as a Latin book in ante-Norman England. Texts were generally cited in that language, and then rendered into the native idiom, according to the Romish usage of later times.

of Ethelred, king of Mercia. (*Brit. Mus. MSS. COTTON, Vespasian, D. 21. f. 18.*) Ethelred abdicated and retired into a monastery in 704.—*Sax. Chron.* 60.

¹ We learn, from the MS. cited in the last note, that he was *four-and-twenty winters old* when he forsook the habits of his earlier years. He then retired into the monastery of Repton, and remained there two years. Thus his age was twenty-six when he turned hermit, and he is considered the first of his nation who adopted that character. There is a life of Guthlac, in Latin, very ancient, corresponding with the Saxon (which is probably translated from it), among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.—*Nero, E. 1. f. 183.*

² Or Crowland.

Doubts even entered reflecting minds as to the expediency of opening Scripture unreservedly to vulgar eyes. But such hesitation, if sufficiently examined, will be found little serviceable to the cause of modern Rome. It arose not from the Church's alleged possession of an unwritten word, and from a consequent apprehension lest an analogy should be drawn between this and the similar Jewish claim so pointedly reprobated by our Saviour. Ante-Norman indecision upon an indiscriminate publication of the sacred record flowed from a perception of contemporary grossness. An abuse was feared of certain Scriptural relations to justify individual obliquities.¹ All their other feelings made learned Anglo-Saxons anxious to spread abroad a knowledge of the Bible.

To such anxiety several interesting versions bear honourable testimony. The eighth century is thought to have produced the four Gospels in a vernacular

¹ *Now it thinketh me, love, that that work* (the translation of Genesis) *is very dangerous for me or any men to undertake: because I dread lest some foolish man read this book, or hear it read, who should ween that he may live now under the new law, even as the old fathers lived then in that time, ere that the old law was established; or even as men lived under Moyses' law.* (Ælfric, monk, to Æthelwold, alderman. *Prefatio Genesis, Anglice.* Ed. Thwaites, p. 1.) Ælfric then proceeds to relate how an illiterate instructor of his own dwelt upon Jacob's matrimonial connexions with two sisters and their two maids. This passage has been partly used already in the note respecting Ælfric's early education. His own account of the biblical versions made by him is to be found in a Saxon piece which he addressed to Sigwerd, of East-Heolon, and which was published by L'Isle in 1623.

dress.¹ A like antiquity may possibly be claimed for the Psalter.² Of the translator, in either case, nothing is certainly known. The Pentateuch, with most of Joshua and Judges, and some parts of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Esther, and Maccabees, was translated by Elfric. He presented his countrymen, also, with a brief homiletic sketch of Job. A poetic piece, now imperfect, founded upon the apocryphal book of Judith, and written, it is thought, in Dano-Saxon, is, probably, another extant evidence of his industry. In this last undertaking he had an eye to the Danish incursions; thinking that a harassed nation could dwell upon few pictures more advantageously than upon one of successful resistance to foreign aggression. The Anglo-Saxons likewise possessed in their native idiom the pseudo-gospel, passing under the name of Nicodemus.³ Pro-

¹ Bp. Marsh's *Michaelis*, ii. 637. The four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon were printed in London in 1571. There again in 1638, together with fragments both of the Old and New Testaments. The Gospels were afterwards printed at Dordrecht in 1665, and at Amsterdam in 1684. (*Ibid.*) "From the different styles of the Anglo-Saxon versions of the Gospels, they must have been translated oftener than once."—TURNER'S *Hist. Angl. Sax.* iii. 499.

² "De Authore autem hujus versionis haud quicquam statui-mus. Primus Psalmorum in Linguam Saxoniam translator sub anno 709, laudatur Adelmus Episc. Shirburnensis; sed cum regem Alfredum Magnum, translationem etiam hujusmodi, paulo ante annum 900, adortum esse legimus, priorem illam ex Danica tempestate periisse verisimile est, et posteriorem sanè ex importuna Regis morte abortivam fuisse novimus."—Præf. in *Psalt. Latino Saxon.* Vet. a JOH. SPELMANNO, edit. Lond. 1640.

³ All these, except the selections from Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Esther, and Maccabees, which are most probably lost, were

bably, this was considered a valuable supplement to the inspired records of our blessed Saviour's life. If any other Scriptural versions ever existed, authentic particulars of them are unknown. We have, indeed, besides, a paraphrastic view of the leading incidents detailed by Moses. Its author seems to have been that Cædmon, whose extraordinary talents Bede commemorates, and ascribes to inspiration. But his work is a sacred poem, not a biblical version.¹ There is, likewise, in the British Museum, an ancient Harmony

published by Thwaites, at Oxford, in 1698, under the following title : *Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi ; Anglo-Saxonice. Historiæ Judith Fragmentum : Dano-Saxonice.*

¹ Bede (iv. 24. p. 327) relates, that Cædmon abruptly retired from a table, where the guests were singing in succession, when the harp came to him because he had no verse at command. In the course of the following night he dreamed that a stranger desired him to sing. He pleaded inability, but was told that he did not know his own powers. Being further pressed, he began to sing the *Creation* ; and he subsequently retained the faculty of clothing in verse any sacred subject read or recited to him. A short specimen of his abilities is preserved by Bede. A considerable mass of poetry, on the subjects which occupied his muse, is extant in the Bodleian library, in a MS. referred to the tenth century. This was published by Junius in 1655, and it has been recently republished. Hickes doubted Cædmon's title to it, because he considered the language Dano-Saxon, and therefore of a later age. But, probably, neither this work, nor the fragment of Judith, is in Dano-Saxon. Their verbal peculiarities will be readily accounted for by the fact, that they are strictly poems. It is undoubtedly far from obvious why Elfric should have written Dano-Saxon. Yet we have his own authority for attributing to him a translation of Judith. (*De Vet. Test.* 22.) This can hardly be any other work than that of which a fragment still remains.

Of both the *Judith* and the *Cædmon*, long and interesting accounts may be seen in Mr. Turner's *Hist. of the Angl. Sax.* (iii. 309). Of the latter, still fuller particulars are supplied in the

of the Gospels.¹ This again, is poetical, and obviously was never intended for the Anglo-Saxon people; not being in their tongue, but in a cognate dialect from the Gothic stock.

As the scanty remains of Anglo-Saxon biblical literature mount up to a high antiquity, they are not without importance in scriptural research. Use of them has, accordingly, been made in the delicate and difficult task of conjectural emendation.² But although these venerable monuments of English piety can hardly fail of preserving traces of Latin versions now lost, yet St. Jerome's translation was that, in fact, of ancient England.³ Existing Anglo-Saxon versions, besides, are not sufficiently complete and critical to throw extensive light upon biblical

Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, for which we are indebted to the two Messrs. Conybeare. (pp. 3. 183.)

A strong similarity has been observed in parts, between *Cædmon* and *Paradise Lost*. Hence Mr. Turner supposes that Milton might have had some hints from Junius. (*Hist. Angl. Sax.* iii. 316.) Speculations of this kind might be carried further. The *pseudo-gospel* of Nicodemus personifies Hell, and makes her (for the gender is feminine) hold a dialogue with Satan. Such reading brings to mind Milton's personifications of Sin and Death.

¹ Published at Munich in 1830.

² "Various readings from the Anglo-Saxon version of the Four Gospels were first quoted by Mill, who took them from the papers of Marshall."—Bp. MARSH'S *Michaelis, ut supra*.

³ Ðer Hieronimur þer haliz færeþ. ⁊ ȝetozen on Ebþeircum ȝeþeorþe. ⁊ on ġreþircum. ⁊ on Ledenum fulfremedlice. ⁊ he aþen- ðe ure Bibliothecan of Ebþeircum bocum to Ledenum ȝræfe. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 34. p. 93.) *This Hieronimus was a holy priest, and skilled in the Hebrew language, and in the Greek, and in the Latin, perfectly; and he turned our Bible from Hebrew books to the Latin speech.*

inquiries. The translators evidently had no thought of any thing beyond popular utility. They reasoned, probably, that every reader of more than ordinary reflection and acquirements would consult the Latin text. Its language, indeed, had not yet become completely obsolete among persons of education. Hence many liberties were taken, by Elfric, especially, both in paraphrasing and abridging.¹ No doubt a version was thus produced more level to popular apprehension. But its value to a critic is impaired. There can be little certainty as to the text used by a translator who, obviously, considered himself perfectly justified in departing from it to meet the illiteracy of those for whom he wrote.

In this respect, as in others, the Anglo-Saxon age betrays inherent imperfection. It is, however, eminently an interesting and important period: indeed, the cradle of a social system, admired and envied by all Europe. Its monuments, therefore, demand attention from such as would adequately understand this noble constitution. Especially is examination due to its ecclesiastical affairs. English episcopacy is thus traced beyond Augustine up to a native church, immemorially rooted in the country. This institution, then, has every advantage of prescription, even that of connexion with primitive antiquity. The national endowments of religion, also, meet an inquiring eye under an aspect highly venerable. They

¹ He commonly omits indelicate passages, and long successions of proper names. In some cases he introduces a gloss, and in others he gives Anglo-Saxon equivalents for proper names.

challenge any rigour of investigation; offering evidence of legal imposition that gives a modern air to the muniments of every private family. Landed acquisitions must have been made universally under existing liabilities to provide for public worship. It should be likewise generally known, that England largely owed conversion to British agency, and that her independence was never insulted by papal domination before the Conquest. Nor, again, ought the doctrinal evidence of Anglo-Saxon records to be overlooked. The Marian martyrs faced an agonising death rather than deny one leading article of faith maintained by their distant ancestry. Another fact, pregnant with instruction, in the religious annals of ancient England, is her indignant repudiation of image-worship. Her voice, too, in other points now controverted, but which she never saw particularly noticed, responds most ambiguously and insufficiently to the call of Rome for traditionary support. Even the last Henry's monastic policy may appeal for extenuation to Anglo-Saxon history. This displays the Benedictine struggle to undermine an older system, and monks employing an ungenerous deduction, eventually turned with fatal force against themselves. It convicts the cloister, too, of seeking popularity and opulence from the very first, by that debasing subserviency to superstition which dishonoured all its course. Long, then, as Anglo-Saxon times have passed away, their hoary monuments will abundantly requite a student's care. This, indeed, is fairly due to civil institutions in which every Englishman exults, to a religious polity which the great

majority reverts. Inquiry may surprise a Romanist with opposition, encountered by some peculiarities of his church convicting them of innovation; with evidence of others, groping a stealthy and vacillating way through national ignorance and troubles. It will greet a Protestant with invaluable testimonies to the antiquity of his distinctive creed.

END OF THE HISTORY.

KING EDGAR'S PROCLAMATION.

¹ Hea is ƷerƷutelod on þisum ƷerƷute. hu EaðƷar cýnige Ʒær fmeaƷende hƷæt to bote mihte. æt þam færi-cƷealme. ðe hiƷ leodƷcipe fƷiðe ðnehte 7 panode Ʒýnd hiƷ anƷeald.

Ðæt is þonne æƷeƷt þ him þuhte 7 hiƷ Ʒitum. þ þuƷ ƷeƷað un-Ʒelimp mið fýnnum. 7 mið oƷerhýrnýƷƷe GodeƷ beboða Ʒeeapnოდ Ʒære. 7 fƷýðoƷt mið þam oƷtize þær neað-ƷafoleƷ þe EriƷtene men Gode ƷelæƷtan fceoldon on heora teoðinge-fceattum. He beƷohte 7 aƷmeade þ Ʒodcunde be ƷopulðƷepunan. EriƷ Ʒeneat manna hƷýlc fceor-Ʒýmeleafað hiƷ hlafoƷdeƷ Ʒafo. 7 hit him to ðam Ʒiht andaƷan ne ƷelæƷt. Ʒen is ƷiƷ fe hlafoƷd mið-heoƷt bið þ he þa Ʒýmeleafte to fceorƷýfenýƷƷe læte. 7 to hiƷ Ʒafole buton Ʒitnunge fú. EriƷ he þonne Ʒelomlice þuƷh hiƷ býðelaƷ hiƷ ƷafoleƷ mýnƷað. 7 he þonne aheafnað. 7 hit þencð to æt-fceƷenƷenne. Ʒen is þ þær hlafoƷdeƷ ƷƷama to þan fƷiðe Ʒeaxe. þ he him ne unne naðeƷ ne æhta ne liƷeƷ. ÐƷa is Ʒén þ une Ðrihten do þuƷh þa ƷedýrƷtignýƷƷe þe fceleƷ men ƷiðhæƷton þære Ʒelomlican mýnƷunge þe une láneopar ðýdon ýmbe þ neað-Ʒafole uneƷ ÐrihtneƷ þ fýn une teoðunga. 7 cýƷic-fceattar. Ðonne beode ic. 7 fe aƷcebiƷceop. þ Ʒe God ne Ʒrýmman. ne naðeƷ ne Ʒeeapnian ne þone fæƷlican deað þiƷeƷ andƷeapdan liƷeƷ. ne huƷu þone toƷeapdan éceƷe helle. mið æneƷum oƷtize GodeƷ ƷeƷihta. ac æƷðeƷ Ʒe eapm. Ʒe eadig. þe ænize týlunge hæbbe. ƷelæƷte Gode hiƷ teoðunga. mið ealƷe bliƷƷe. 7 mið eallum unnan. fƷƷa feo ƷeƷnædnýƷ tæce þe mine Ʒitan æt AndeƷeƷan² ƷeƷnæddon. 7 nu eft æt ÐihtboƷdeƷ-fceane mið Ʒeðde ƷeƷafceƷnodon. Ðonne beode ic minum ƷeƷeƷan be minum fceonðƷcipe. 7 be eallum þam þe hi áƷon. þ hý fceýƷan ælcum þaƷa þe þiƷ ne ƷelæƷte. 7 minƷa Ʒitena Ʒeð abƷeacan mið æneƷum ƷaƷcipe Ʒille. fƷƷa fƷƷa him feo fceƷeƷaðe ƷeƷnædneƷ tæce. 7 on þære fceoƷe ne fý nan fceƷifneƷ. EriƷ he fƷƷa eapm bið þ he aðeƷ deð oððe þa ƷodeƷ panað hiƷ faula to fceorƷýrðe. oððe ƷaceƷƷ mið moðeƷ ƷƷaman hý beƷƷýƷƷe þonne þ he him to áƷenum teleð. ðonne him micle

¹ *Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Nero, E. 1. f. 389.*

² The legislative importance of Andover is thus commemorated by a poet, who celebrates the dedication of the church of the old monastery at Winchester, in 980; he was, probably, Elfric:

“Post alii plures aderant, proceresque, ducesque,
Gentis et Anglorum maxima pars comitum,
Quos è concilio pariter collegerat illo
Quod fuit vico Regis in Andeveram.”

Vita S. Ethelw. Episc. Winton. ACTA SS. ORD.
BENEDICT. Sæc. v. p. 621.

azenne 1r ꝥ him æfre on eceſſre ȝelæſt ȝif he hit mið unnan 7 mið fulne bliſſe doð polde.

Donne wille ic ꝥ þāſ Godeſ ȝerihtra ſtanðan æghwær ȝelice on minum anwealde 7 þa Godeſ þeopaſ þe þa ſceattaſ undrefoð þe we Gode ſſyllað libban clænan liſe ꝥ hȳ þurh þa clænneſſre ur to Gode þingian mægen. And ic 7 mine þegnaſ wȳldan ure wreottaſ to þan þe ure ſaula hȳrdaſ ur tæcð ꝥ ſȳndon ure biſceopaſ þe we næfre miſhȳpan ne ſcȳlon on nan þara þinga þe hȳ ur for Gode tæcað ꝥ we þurh þa hȳrromneſſre þe we heom for Gode hȳrromiað ꝥ ece liſe ȝeearnian þe hȳ ur to remað mið laſe 7 mið býſene ȝoððra weorca.

KING EDGAR'S PROCLAMATION.

Here is manifested in this writ, how King Eadgar considered what might be amended, in the pestilence that greatly harassed and diminished his people widely through his kingdom.

This is then, first, what he and his *witan* thought, that this unfortunate state of things was earned by sins, and by disobedience to God's commandments; and chiefly by the subtraction of the bounden tribute which Christian men should yield to God in their tythe-payments. He bethought and considered the divine course by that of the world. If any agricultural tenant neglect his lord's tribute, and render it not to him at the right appointed time, one may judge if the lord will be so merciful as to forgive such a neglect, and to take his tribute without punishing him. If he then, frequently, through his messengers, admonish him of his tribute, and he then hardeneth himself, and thinketh to hold it out, one may think that the lord's anger will wax to such a pitch, that he will allow him neither property nor life. So, one may think, our Lord will do, through the boldness with which common men resist the frequent admonition which our teachers have given about our Lord's bounden tribute, which are our tythes and church-shots. Then bid I, and the archbishop, that ye provoke not God, nor earn a premature death in this life, nor, what is worse, the future everlasting hell, by any subtraction of God's rights: but let every one, whether poor or rich, who has any business, render to God his tythes as the act teaches, which my *witan* enacted at Andover, and now again at Wihtbordestane with a pledge confirmed. Moreover, I bid my reeves by my friendship, and by all that they possess, that they punish every one of those who pay not this, and break the pledge of my *witan* with any prevarication, even as the foresaid enactment teaches; and in the punishment let there be no forgiveness. Neither poverty nor anger will free from danger the soul of any man who diminishes this, or converts it to his own use; it is then that he consults for his own eternal interest when he renders it freely and with full satisfaction.

Then will I that God's rights stand every where alike in my dominions; and that God's servants, who receive the payments that we make to God, should live clean lives, that they should through their purity intercede for us to God. And I and my

thanes enjoin our priests what is taught us by the pastors of our souls, that is, our bishops, whom we should never fail of hearing in any of the things that they teach us for God, that we, through the obedience that we yield to them for God, may earn the everlasting life which they persuade us to by teaching, and by the example of good works.

THE END.

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A

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

“ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH,”

CONTAINING

SOLEMNITIES FOR PASSION-WEEK,
FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

WITH

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

TO COMPLETE THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.

BY HENRY SOAMES, M.A.

CHANCELLOR OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON.

LONDON:
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ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

As this work has been for a considerable time out of print, it was thought likely that a new Edition would be favourably received by the public. Since its first appearance the edge of opposition to the Church's pecuniary claims has materially worn off. Party-feeling has found new channels, and men are become far better informed, not only as to the amount of ecclesiastical wealth, but also as to the foundations on which it rests. Religious questions have, however, very rarely received more attention than they do at present, and it is impossible to understand them without a competent knowledge of ecclesiastical history. Principles, rendered prominent by passing events, must be stripped of that adventitious claim to notice, and traced upwards, by those who would estimate them rightly. Means of thus treating a considerable number of religious questions, highly interesting to Englishmen, are accumulated in the present volume. It can scarcely, therefore, fail of extending facilities for the acquisition of useful information.

Since this work first appeared, other publications have thrown much important light upon the Anglo-

Saxon period in English history. Of them advantage has been taken in preparing the present Edition for the press. One of them, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, edited by Mr. Thorpe under the Record Commission, made it seem desirable to add an Appendix. The materials from which this volume was compiled being either printed works of no very difficult access, or extracts from MSS. given in foot notes, it appeared at first necessary to subjoin nothing more than that declaration of Edgar's respecting ecclesiastical dues, of which no notice is taken in preceding compilations upon such subjects. But Mr. Thorpe has printed three pieces with Elfric's name, one, the document, called sometimes, *Ælfric's Canons*, at other times, his *Epistle to Wulfstane*; another, a piece, called *Ælfric's Pastoral Epistle*, which has a Latin prologue to Archbishop Wulfstan; and a third, styled *Ælfric's Epistle, entitled QUANDO DIVIDIS CHRISMA*. This last he gives from a Cambridge MS. which exhibits the piece very much curtailed of the proportions found in a Bodleian MS., where it is said, but in a hand, seemingly of Foxe's time, or thereabouts, to be Elfric's epistle to Wulfstan. Now it is this longer piece which contains the testimony against transubstantiation, extracted and printed by Foxe, in his *Martyrology*, and by L'Isle, in his *Testimony of Antiquitie*. This is not found, either in the *Pastoral Epistle*, inscribed to Wulfstan, or in the truncated piece, *Quando dividis Chrisma*, thought to have been written for him. An inquirer, therefore, with only Mr. Thorpe's recent and most excellent work before him, may be at a loss to know upon what authority Foxe and L'Isle based

their important publications. Those who would wish all doubt upon such a subject to be removed, will naturally be glad of seeing the whole piece, *Quando dividis Chrisma*, in print. It will, accordingly, be now found in the Appendix to this work, from a transcript made some years ago, in the Bodleian Library. Foxe and L'Isle might have been mistaken in supposing it intended for Wulfstan, but that is immaterial. It has every appearance of Elfric's pen, and must have been much about his age. It is, therefore, quite conclusive as to ancient England's eucharistic belief. It is, however, very much like an episcopal charge, for the delivery of which occasion was taken from the concourse of clergy who came to obtain their annual supplies of consecrated oil. Hence it is quite likely to have been written, either for Wulfstan's delivery upon such an occasion, or for Elfric's own, provided he really became a bishop, as there is reason for believing that he did. This venerable monument of the ancient English Church is also valuable, because it brings to notice many particulars in then existing religious usages. Undoubtedly, it exhibits a great attention to superstitious trifles. But the age could not rise above such weaknesses, and none, who claim for the Anglo-Saxon Church a character substantially Protestant upon the whole, deny her to have received a Romish leaven, especially in rituals.

To this episcopal charge, as it seems fairly entitled to be considered, it was thought that a sermon for the day of its delivery, might well be added. Readers may thus see how the English laity, as well as the clergy, were

anciently addressed on Thursday, in Passion week. The sermon has not, indeed, the recommendation of bringing many particulars under view, but it illustrates that remarkable feature in the religious discipline of the times, which drove scandalous offenders from the church, on Ash-Wednesday, and did not allow them to enter it again, until Maundy Thursday; yet expected them to spend much of the intervening time, humbled examples of penitence, around its walls.

STAPLEFORD TAWNEY,

March 11, 1844.

APPENDIX.

- I. KING EDGAR'S PROCLAMATION.
- II. ELFRIC'S SECOND EPISTLE.
- III. SERMON ON THE LORD'S SUPPER-DAY.

I.

KING EDGAR'S PROCLAMATION.

¹ *HER* is geswutelod on thisum gewrite, hu Eadgar cyningc wæs smeagende hwæt to bote mihte, æt tham færcwealme, the his leodscipe swithe drehte and wanode gynd his anweald.

Thæt is thonne ærest thæt him thuhte and his witum, thæt thus gerad ungelimp mid synnum, and mid oferhyrnysse Godes beboda geearnod wære, and swythost mid tham oftige thæs nead-gafoles the Cristene men Gode gelæstan sceoldon on heora teothinge-sceattum. He bethohte and asmeade thæt godcunde be woruld-gewunan. Gif geneat-manna hwilc forgymeleasath his hlafordes gafol, and hit to thæm riht andagan ne gelæst, wen is, gif se hlaford mild-heort biþ, thæt he tha gymeleaste to forgyfenysse læte, and to his gafole buton witnunge fô. Gif he thonne gelomlice, thurh his bydelas, his gafoles myngath, and he thonne aheardath, and hit thencth to æt-strengenne, wen is thæt thæs hlafordes grama to than swithe weaxe, thæt he him ne unne nather ne æhta ne lifes. Swa is wen thæt ure Drihten do, thurh tha gedyrstignysse the folces men with-hæfton thære gelomlican myngunge the ure lareowas dydon ymbe thæt nead-gafol ures Drihtnes, thæt syn ure teothunga, and cyric-sceattas. Thonne beode ic, and se arcebisceop, thæt ge God ne grymman, ne nather ne geearnian ne thone færlican death thises andweardan lifes, ne huru thone toweardan ecere helle, mid ænegum oftige Godes gerihta: ac cegþer ge earm, ge eadig, the ænige tylunge hæbbe, geleaste Gode his teothunga, mid ealre blisse, and mid eallum unnan, swa seo gerædnys tæce the mine witan æt Andeferan² geræddon, and nu eft æt Wihtbordes-stane mid wedde gefæstnodon. Thonne beode ic minum gerefan be minum freond-

¹ *Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Nero. E. 1. f. 389.* Mr. Thorpe has printed and translated this piece, under the title of *Supplement to Edgar's Laws*, in the *Anc. LL. and Instt. of Engl.* i. 271. To it is appended in his work, the declaration of secular rights, which is found in the MS. This, however, was not transcribed for the present volume, on account of its want of connection with the Church. The place at which the second council, or *witena-*

gemot, was holden, has not been identified. Mr. Thorpe seems to have been equally unsuccessful, *Wihtbordesstan* appearing in his page without any notice. It was, probably, some royal manor, in a southern county.

² The legislative importance of Andover is thus commemorated by a poet, who celebrates the dedication of the church of the old monastery at Winchester, in 980; he was, probably, Elfric:

[“Post

I.

KING EDGAR'S PROCLAMATION.

HERE is manifested in this writ, how King Eadgar considered what might be for a remedy³, in the pestilence that greatly harassed and diminished his people widely through his kingdom.

This is then, first, what he and his *witan* thought, that this unfortunate state of things was earned by sins, and by disobedience to God's commandments; and chiefly by the subtraction of the bounden tribute which Christian men should yield to God in their tythe-payments. He bethought and considered the divine course by that of the world. If any agricultural tenant neglect his lord's tribute, and render it not to him at the right appointed time, one may think, if the lord be merciful, that he will forgive the neglect, and take his tribute without punishing him. If he then, frequently, through his messengers, admonish him of his tribute, and he then hardeneth himself, and thinketh to hold it out, one may think that the lord's anger will wax to such a pitch, that he will allow him neither property nor life. So, one may think, our Lord will do, through the boldness with which common men resist the frequent admonition which our teachers have given about our Lord's bounden tribute, which are our tythes and church-shots. Then bid I, and the archbishop, that ye provoke not God, nor earn a sudden death in this present life, nor, what is worse, a future one in everlasting hell, by any subtraction of God's rights: but let every one, whether poor or rich, who has any cultivated land, render to God his tythes, with all pleasure and liberality, as the act teaches, which my *witan* enacted at Andover, and now again at Wihtbordestane with a

"Post alii plures aderant, proceresque, ducesque,

Gentis et Anglorum maxima pars comitum,
Quos è concilio pariter collegerat illo
Quod fuit vico Regis in Andeveram."

Vita S. Ethelw. Episc. Winton. ACTA
SS. ORD. BENEDICT. SEC. V. p. 621.

³ In the former editions of this work, the translation stood "what might be amended." This undoubtedly does not clearly give the sense. Mr. Thorpe's version is, "what might be for a *bot*." The retention of this Anglo-Saxon

word may, however, make readers think of the *bots*, or satisfactions, continually mentioned in penitential language. But a *bot* in this sense, was considered as already inflicted by Providence, and the sovereign only sought a remedy for the evils thus brought upon his country. Greater strictness in the discharge of ecclesiastical dues was thought likely to prove such a *remedy*, and the word *bot* appears capable of bearing that construction.

scipe, and be eallum tham the hi agon, thæt hi styran ælcum thara the this ne gelæste, and minra witenas wed abrecan mid ænegum wacscipe wille, swa swa him seo forsæde geradnes tæce; and on thære steore ne sy nan forgifnes. Gif he swa earm biþ thæt he ather deth, oththe tha Godes wanath, his sawla to forwyrde, oththe waccor mid modes graman he behwyrfth thonne thæt he him to agenum teleth, thonne him micle agenre is thæt him æfre on ecnysse gelæst, gif he hit mid unnan and mid fulre blisse don wolde.

Thonne wille ic thæt thas Godes gerihta standan æghwær gelice on minum anwealde; and tha Godes theowas the tha sceattas underfoth the we Gode syllath, libban clænan life, thæt hy, thurh tha clænnesse, us to God thingian mægen. And ic and mine thegnas wyldan ure preostas, to than the ure saula hyrdas us tæcþ, thæt syndon ure bisceopas, the we næfre mishyran ne scylon on nan thara thinga the hy us for Gode tæcath: thæt we, thurh tha hyrsomnysse the we heom for Gode hyrsomiath, thæt ece life geearnian the hy us to-wemath mid lare, and mid bysene goddra weorca.

pledge confirmed. Moreover, I bid my reeves by my friendship, and by all that they possess, that they punish every one of those who pay not this, and break the pledge of my *witan* with any prevarication, even as the foresaid enactment teaches; and in the punishment let there be no forgiveness. Whether a man may be so poor as to be tempted into encroachments upon that which is God's, to the ruin of his soul, or so hasty-tempered as to think little of that which he does not consider as his own, that surely must be more his own which lasts for ever, if it be done with a truly cheerful mind.

Then will I that God's rights stand everywhere alike in my dominions; and that God's servants, who receive the payments that we make to God, should live clean lives, that they should through their purity intercede for us to God. And I and my thanes enjoin our priests what is taught us by the pastors of our souls, that is, our bishops, whom we should never fail of hearing in any of the things that they teach us for God, that we, through the obedience that we yield to them for God, may earn the everlasting life which they persuade us to by teaching, and by the example of good works.

II.

DE SECUNDA EPISTOLA,

QUANDO DIVIDITUR CRISMA¹.

EALA ge mæsse-preostas, mine gebrothru, we secgath eow nu thæt we ær ne sædon; fortham the we to-dæg sceolon dælan urne ele, on threo wisan gehalgodne, swa swa us gewissath seo boc, id est, Oleum sanctum, et Oleum crismatis, et Oleum infirmorum; Thæt is, Halig ele, oðer is Crisma, and Seocra manna ele: and ge sceolon habban threo ampollon gearwe to tham thrym elum, fortham the we ne durron don hi togædere on anum elefate, fortham the heora ælc bið gehalgod on sundron to synderlicre thenunge.

Mid tham halgan ele ge sceolon tha hæthenan cild mearcian on tham breoste, and betwux tha sculdru on middeweardan mid rode-tacne ærtham the ge hit fullion on tham fant-wætere; and thonne hit of tham wætere cymth ge sceolon wyrcan rode-tacn on tham hæfde mid tham halgan crisman. On tham halgan fante, ærtham the ge fullion, ge sceolon don crisman on Cristes rode-tacn, and man ne mot besprengan men mid tham fant-wætere syththan se crisma bið thæron geden.

Mid seocra manna ele ge sceolon smyrian tha seocan, swa swa Jacob se apostol on his pistole tæhte: Ut allevet eos Dominus, et si in peccatis sint, dimittentur eis. Thæt hi arcære Drihten fram heora seocnysse, and gif hi on synnum syndon, thæt hi beon forgifene.

Man sceal huslian thone seocan tha hwile he hit forswlgan mæg, and man hit ne sceal na don nanum sam-cucan men, forthan the he hit sceal etan, swa swa ure Drihten quæth, Qui manducat car-

¹ *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii*, 121, f. 111. Immediately after the title, the following words are written in a hand, apparently of the sixteenth, or the early part of the seventeenth century: "This epistle Aelfrike sent to Wulfstanus, archbyshoppe of Yorke, as it appeareth by a boke of Exeter churchc."

² That is, the unbaptised child. This is obvious from Elfric's *Epistle to Wulf-sine*, commonly called his *Canons*, can.

26, which enacts, "if an unbaptised child be suddenly brought to the mass-priest, that he must baptise it forth-with with haste, that it die not *heathen*."—(SPELMAN. 579. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ii. 353.) The oil to be used in marking a child before baptism, was called *oleum catechumenorum*, as well as *oleum sanctum*. It was mere oil blessed by the bishop for that particular purpose. The practice

II.

ELFRIC'S SECOND EPISTLE,

DELIVERED AT THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISM.

O YE mass-priests, my brethren, we will say to you now that which we have not said before; because to-day we have to distribute our oil, hallowed in three ways, as the book directs us: *id est, Oleum sanctum, et Oleum chrismatis, et Oleum infirmorum*; That is, Holy oil; secondly, Chrism; thirdly, Sick men's oil: and you should have three phials ready for the three oils, for we dare not put them together in one oil vessel, because each is hallowed separately for a separate ministration.

With the holy oil ye should mark the heathen² child on his breast, and midway between his shoulders, with the sign of a cross, ere ye baptise it in the font-water: and when it comes out of the water, ye should make the sign of a cross on the head with the holy chrism³. In the holy font, before ye baptise, ye should put chrism in the form of Christ's cross, and people may not be sprinkled with font-water, after chrism has been put therein.

With sick men's oil⁴ ye should anoint the sick, as James the Apostle taught in his epistle: *Ut alleret eos Dominus, et si in peccatis sint, dimittentur eis*. That the Lord would raise them, and if they be in sins, they shall be forgiven them.

The sacrament should be administered, while the sick can swallow it, and never to any who are half alive; because it must be eaten, according to that saying of our Lord's, *Qui*

of thus anointing catechumens is said by Romanists to be at least as old as Tertullian's time: but this is not clear, and is consequently disputed.—DURANT. *De Riti. Eccl. Cath.* 112. DURAND. *Rationale*, l. 6. BINGHAM. i. 514.

³ Chrism is a mixture of oil and balsam.—DURAND.

⁴ *Oleum infirmorum* is mere oil, but not blessed at the same time with the

oleum catechumenorum, though on the same day, Maundy Thursday, and as a part of the same ceremony. The Anglo-Saxons were rather afraid of this unction, and sometimes would not admit it in sickness.—(*Anc. LL. and Instt. of Engl.* ii. 355.) The Pontifical directs that three several vessels of liquor shall be provided for the ceremonies of that day, of which that, containing chrism, shall be the largest.

nem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo: *Se the ytt min flæsc, and drincth min blod, se wunath on me, ac ic wunige on him. Sume seoce synd swa dysige thæt hi ondrædath him thæt hi sceolon sweltan sona for tham husle: ac we secgath to sothan thæt he ne swelt forthig, theah the he ælce dæge underfo thæt husel: ac his synna beoth adilegode thurh thone drihtenlican hlaf, and he bith eac gescyld with deofles syrunga.*

Se seoca man sceal swithe behreowsian his ærran synna, and geswicennysse behatan, and he mot hi andettan oth tha nehstan orthunge, and he sceal forgifan eallum tham mannum the him ær abulgon, and biddan him forgifennysse.

Ge sceolon huslian tha cild thonne hi gefullode beoth, and hy man bere to mæssan thæt hi beon gekuslode ealle tha seofon dagas tha hwile the hi unthwogene beoth.

Ge ne moton mæssian, on læwedra manna husum, ne man ne mot drincan, ne dwollice plegan, ne etan innan circean, ne unnytte word spræcan, ac hine gebiddan, forthan the se Hælend adræfde of tham halgan temple, ealle tha gedwolan, mid heora gedwylde, and cwæth, Min hus, is gecweden gebed-hus.

In Cena Dni, et in Parasceve, et in S̄co Sabbato.

On thissum thrym swige-nihtum, ge sceolon singan ætgædere

¹ A like adherence to the mere letter of Scripture produced the communion of infants.—(See the Author's *Bampton Lectures*, 82.) If Romanists would only candidly consider Christian antiquities, they might learn from these departures of their church from a servile adherence to words, to doubt the wisdom of continuing such servility in the case of transubstantiation.

² The superstition of remaining unwashed during the week following baptism, though long out of use among Romanists, is at least as old as Tertullian's time.—DALLÆUS. *De Cultt.* 78. BISHOP KATE's *Tertullian*. 431.

³ This has been arranged as verse, which is evidently its character. Some similar matter, which Mr. Thorpe has arranged metrically, is to be found in

Elfric's *Epistle to Wulfsine*, generally called his *Canons*.—(*Anc. LL. and Instt.* ii. 356.) Probably both cases present a citation from some well-known metrical piece. At the conclusion of these lines, Mr. Thorpe's edition of this Epistle concludes, as does that published by Wilkins in his *Leges Angl.-Sax.* Mr. Thorpe, indeed, does not think that Elfric's composition goes farther than the end of the third paragraph which prescribes the use of sick man's oil. "What follows," he says, "has been apparently added by the copyist to the tract about chrism by mistake, having no connexion with it." But neither in the Bodleian MS. (*Junius*, 121,) from which the transcript now published, was made, nor in another in that library, (*BODLEY*, 343,) is there any break, even after the

manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I abide in him¹. Some sick are so foolish, that they have a dread of dying the sooner for the sacrament: but we say in sooth, that a man would not die on that account, although he received the sacrament every day; his sins, however, would be blotted out by the Lord's bread, and he would also be shielded against the devil's snares.

The sick man should earnestly repent of his former sins, and promise to leave them, and he ought to confess them until his last breath; and he should forgive all that have ever offended him, and pray that they may be forgiven.

Ye should give the eucharist to children when they are baptised, and let them be brought to mass, that they may receive it all the seven days that they are unwashed².

Ye must not mass	Because the Saviour
In laymen's houses,	Drove from his temple,
Nor must one drink,	All their foolish
Or play the fool,	With their follies,
Or eat in churches,	And quoth, My house
Or talk absurdly,	Is called a prayer-house ³ .
But therein pray;	

On the Lord's Supper-Day⁴, the Preparation⁵, and the holy Sabbath⁶.

On these three nights of silence⁷, ye should sing together in

metrical lines. The whole epistle, indeed, as it is called, is perfectly suited to one single occasion, that of giving useful advice and information to a body of clergymen brought together for receiving the annual supplies of consecrated oil and chrism. It begins with topics suggested by the particular business in hand, and goes on to other matters of professional interest.

⁴ Thursday in Passion week, so called because Jesus then took his last paschal meal, and grafted upon it the Christian Eucharist.

⁵ Good Friday; the day which it commemorates is called *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα* by St. John. xix. 14.

⁶ Saturday in Passion week; it was called *holy* on several accounts, particularly because it was a great day for the administration of baptism.—(Du

CANGE.) Saturday was ordinarily called *Sabbatum* in ecclesiastical language.

⁷ Besides the general injunction of silence in the ordinary business of life, and in various ritual matters, even the bells were to remain silent from the Thursday evening, which commemorated our Lord's betrayal, to the following Sunday morning. Nothing more, probably, was at first meant by this, than to impress a character of unusual solemnity upon the season, but it was eventually said, that men were thus to be reminded of the time when the preaching of the Gospel wholly ceased; Jesus himself being actually dead during most of it, and his disciples all along, being dispersed panic-stricken.—DURAND.

be fullan eowerne uht-sang, swa swa se antemnera tæcþ, and feower and twentig candela acwencan æt tham sealum, and æt ælcere rædinge oþh thone æftemestan antifon, and ge-endian thone uht-sang, swa thaæt ælc singe his Pater noster on sundron and tha preces therto, butan ælcum leohte, licgende on cneowum. On tham Thunres-dæge ge singath ætgædere ealle eowre tid-sangas. Singath swa theaþ æfre Pat. nst. and tha preces on sundron, buton tham uht-sange. On Frige-dæge, and on Sæternes-dæge, singath eowre tid-sangas ælc preost on sundron, buton tham uht-sange. On Thunres-dæge ge sceolon athwean eowre weofodu ær tham the ge mæssion, and ge elles ne moton. And æfter efen-sange ge sceolon unscridan tha weofodu, and standan hi swa nacode oþh thone Sæternes-dæg, and man tha weofod-sceatas awahse betwux tham, and healdath on tham dæge eower fæsten oþh non.

Imple mandatum Dñi, in cena ipsius. Doth on tham Thunres-dæge swa swa ure Drihten bebed. Athweath thearfena fet, and heom foda doth, scrud gif eow to onhagie, and eow betwynan eowre fet athweath mid eadmodnysse, swa swa Crist sylf dyde, and us swa don het.

On tham dæge ge ne moton cwethan æt there mæssan, Dñs vobiscum, buton se biscop ana the thone ele halgath, ne eac ge

¹ *Uht-sang* was the first service in the twenty-four hours, and was performed some time between midnight and day-break.

² This superstitious formality is thus described in the work *De Divinis Officiis*; which once passed under the name of Alcuin. "Accenduntur in hac nocte lumina viginti-quatuor, et extinguuntur per singulas lectiones et responsoria. Quæ fiunt septuagintaduæ illuminationes et extinctiones; tot enim horis jacuit Dominus in sepulchro. Lumen et cantus gaudium et lætitiā significat: extinctio luminum defectio septuaginta-duo discipulorum, sive mæstitiā Apostolorum quam pertulerunt per septuaginta-duas horas, quæ consecratæ sunt Christi sepulturæ. Hoc enim ordine per singulas noctes extinguuntur. In initio primi Psalmi, est custos paratus cum canna in loco dexteræ partis ecclesiæ, et mox ut primam antiphonam audierit, extinguit primam lucernam. In fine vero sequentis Psalmi ex parte sinistra tutat aliam, in medio tertiam.

Hoc ordine de aliis prosequitur. His omnibus extinctis, simili modo in matutinis per singulas antiphonas extinguuntur. Dicto autem versu ante Evangelium, subtrahitur media, et reservatur usque in Sabbatum sanctum." —ALCUIN. *Opp.* ii. 476.

³ The canonical hours, though sometimes reckoned eight, are generally reckoned only seven. They stand thus in Elfric's epistle, styled by Mr. Thorpe his *Pastoral Epistle*, which has a Latin prologue to Archbishop Wulfstan. *Uht-sang*, (Matins and Lauds,) *Prim-sang*, (Prime,) *Undern-sang*, (Tierce,) *Mid-dæg-sang*, (Sext,) *Non-sang*, (Nones,) *Æfen-sang*, (Vespers,) and *Niht-sang*, (Complin.) Hickeys, in the Appendix to his *Letters to a Popish Priest*, has printed the Saxon services for the canonical hours; but in these *Uht-sang* stands last. *Prim-sang* was sometimes called *Dæg-red* (Day-red) *sang*: a term expressive of the time, (day-break,) when it was ordinarily chanted.—*Anc. LL. and Instt.* ii. 376. FOSBROOKE. *British Monachism.* Lond. 1817, p. 53.

full your midnight service¹, as the anthem-book teaches, and extinguish four-and-twenty candles at the Psalms, and at every reading, until the last antiphon², and end the service, so that each sing his Lord's Prayer apart, and the prayers thereto, without any light, kneeling on your knees. On the Thursday, ye shall sing together all your canonical hours³. Sing nevertheless the Lord's Prayer, and its prayers apart. On Friday, and on Saturday, sing your services for the hours, each priest apart, except the midnight service. On Thursday, ye should wash your altars, before ye mass, which else ye must not do. And after evensong, ye should uncover the altars, and let them stand naked until Saturday⁴, and in the mean time the altar-sheets are to be washed: and keep on that day your fast until noon.

Imple mandatum⁵ Domini, in cæna ipsius. Do on the Thursday even as our Lord bade. Wash the feet of the poor, and give them food, clothing, if you have opportunity, and wash one another's feet with humility, even as Christ himself did, and commanded us to do so.

On that day ye must not say at mass *Dñs vobiscum*, but the bishop only who hallows the oil, nor should ye go to *pacem*⁶,

¹ The real reason of this was probably to make them present a handsome appearance when the church should fill for the great baptism on *Holy Saturday*, but reasons for it were found in the circumstances of our Lord, who was, as at that time, *stripped* of his disciples, or on the next day, of his own clothes, for crucifixion, or of his glory on the cross, as appeared by his crying, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*

⁵ This passage might seem conclusive, especially as much corroborative matter is to be found, of the etymology of *Maundy*, applied to this particular Thursday. It seems to be from *mandatum*, the *new commandment* given by our Lord at his last supper, (St. Joh. xiii. 34,) and which was interpreted not merely as a general commandment to mutual love, but also as a special direction to wash one another's feet, after our Lord's example a short time before. Undoubtedly Elfric enjoins that relief should be given to the poor in addition to the washing of their

feet, and a *mand*, or *basket*, might be provided for carrying it away, but *mandatum*, the divine command for all this humiliation and liberality, affords the best clue to the name, among other reasons, because it accounts for both syllables of it. The day is more likely to be called *mandate*, corrupted into *mandy* Thursday, than *basket* Thursday.

⁶ The *osculum pacis*, as it was called, or *holy kiss*, enjoined in Rom. xvi. 16, and elsewhere in the New Testament. Anciently, at the communion service, or mass, in the Roman church, the officiating priest kissed one of his assistants, he another, and that other a third, which form went on through the whole congregation. But as simplicity declined, the ceremony was found productive of obvious inconveniences. To remedy these, a figure of Christ, or the cross, or a case of relics, called an *osculatory*, or *pax*, was eventually handed round to be kissed. Neither anciently the substance, nor subsequently the shadow of the *holy kiss*

ne sculon gan to pacem, ac thær man thone ele halgath man sceal cyssan tha fatu. Ge sceolon healdan of tham husle ge halgiath thæs dæges to thicgenne on Frigedæge æt thære thenunge, fortham the man ne mot halgian nan husel on tham dæge the Crist on throwode for ure alysednysse. On Frigedæge ær none at fruman man sceal rædan thæs witegan rædinge, In tribulatione sua mane, and syththan thone traht singan, *Dne* audiui: æfter tham trahte, *Flectamus genua*, and tha collectan, *Ds* a quo et Judas, eft othre rædinge, *Dixit Dns ad Moysen et Aaron*, and thone traht, *Eripe me, Deus*. Ræde man thonne *Cristes throwunge* be *Johannes gesetnysse*: æt thære man ne sceal cwethan *Dns vobiscum*, ne *Gloria Deo*. Æfter thisum cwethe se preost tha collectan swa swa se mæsse-boc him tæceth. Æfter tham beron twegen gebrothra tha rode forth mid hrægle bewæfed, and singon tha fers, *Populem s̄*, and twegen gebrothru him andwerdon on *Grecisc*, *Agios o Theos*, oth ende, and hi ealle thonne thæt ilce singon on *Leden*, *Scs Ds*, *Scs fortis*: thonne that other fers, *Quia eduxi vos*, thonne eft, *Agios o Theos*, and *Scs Ds*, thonne thriddre fers, *Quid ultra debui*, and *Agios*, and *Scs*. Unwreon thonne tha rode, and singon, *Ecce lignum crucis*, and tha othre antiphonas, tha hwile the tha gebrothru hi gebiddath æt³ thære rode, and thæt læwede folc eall swa do. Lecge se diacon syththan *corporale* uppon tham weofode mid tham husle the wæs on tham ærran dæge gehalgod, and sette thone calic thæron mid ungehalgodum wine, and cwethe se mæsse-preost besone, *Oremus preceptis salutaribus moniti*, and *Pater nr* oth ende. Cwæthe thonne fægre, *Libera nos, quesumus, Dne ab omnib. malis*, eft syththan besone, *Per omnia secula seculorum*. Do se mæsse-preost thonne of tham husle mid swigan into tham calice, and gange he to husle and ealle tha gebrothru. Singon syththan heora æfen-sang, ælc on sundron, and gan to heora gereorde. And ne beo heora nan gescod thæs dæges, buton he untrum sy, ær tham the hit gefylled sy.

was used on Good Friday; Bona says, as a token of sorrow, Durand, and the pseudo-Alcuin, as a memorial of Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Christ with a kiss.

¹ Durand, citing Pope Innocent, makes this typical of the withdrawal of the Apostles from notice in grief and consternation, in the interval between our Lord's apprehension, and

his resurrection. Raban Maur also makes it typical of their total abstinence from food, during that interval.—*De Inst. Clerr.* Col. 1532, p. 103.

² "Tracts are certain sentences to be sung after the Epistle."—JOHNSON.

³ Some MSS. have here *to thære rode*, which Johnson translates "*to the rood*," and accordingly remarks in a

but where the oil is hallowed the vessels should be kissed. Ye should keep some of the eucharist ye hallow this day for receiving in Friday's service, because no eucharist must be hallowed on the day in which Christ suffered for our redemption¹. On Friday, before nones, should be first read a lesson from the prophet, *In tribulatione sua mane*, and then should be sung the tract, *Dñe audiui*: after the tract, *Flectamus genua*, and the collect, *Ds a quo et Judas*: then another lesson, *Dixit Dñs ad Moysen et Aaron*, and the tract², *Eripe me, Deus*. Then should be read Christ's passion according to John's relation; at which should not be said, *Dñs vobiscum*, or *Gloria Deo*. After this let the priest say the collect according as the mass-book teaches him. Afterwards let two brothers bear the cross forth covered with a veil, and sing the verse, *Popule m̄s*, and let two brothers answer them in Greek, *Agios o Theos*, to the end, and then let them all sing the same in Latin, *Scs Ds*, *Scs fortis*: then that other verse, *Quia eduxi vos*, then again, *Agios o Theos*, and *Scs Ds*, then a third verse, *Quid ultra debui*, and *Agios*, and *Scs*. Then let them uncover the cross, and sing, *Ecce lignum crucis*, and the other antiphons, while the brothers pray by the cross, and the lay folks also. Let the deacon then lay a corporal⁴ upon the altar with the eucharist that was hallowed on the day before, and let him place the chalice thereon with unconsecrated wine, and let the mass-priest say quickly, *Oremus preceptis salutaribus moniti*, and *Pater nr̄* to the end. Let him then say slowly, *Libera nos, quesumus, Dñe ab omnib. malis*, then again quickly, *Per omnia secula seculorum*. Let the mass-priest then put some of the eucharist with silence into the chalice, and let him go to communion with all the brethren. Let them then sing their even-song, each apart, and go to their supper, and let no one of them be shod on that day, unless he be weakly, until all is over.

note, "The Good Friday service seems to me the very worst that is in the whole year, save that there is on this day no elevation of the host, nor by consequence, any divine honour required to be paid to it. But the honours paid to the cross are a full compensation for that defect." *Æt*, however, has no meaning that will warrant this construction, nor probably

has to. Nothing seems to be meant farther than that prayers should be said by the cross, a usage undoubtedly, that led to idolatry, but it is not in itself idolatrous.

⁴ A linen cloth for the altar, answering, say Raban Maur and the pseudo-Alcuin, to the linen cloth, in which our Lord's body was wrapped. Hence it must not be silk, or coloured cloth.

On Easter-efen man sceal halgian ærest tapor, and syththan rædan tha rædinge, In principio creavit Ds celum et terram. Don syththan tha thenunge swa eower bec eow tæcath, ac ge ne sceolon singan offerendan on tham dæge, ne Agnus Dī, ne communian, ne gan to pacem. Singan swa theah Gloria in excelsis Dō. After tham husel-gange singath Alleluia besone, and thone sceortan sealm thær-mid, Laudate Dnm oms gentes. Aginnan syththan thone antiphon, Vespere autem Sabbati, and ful singan Magnificat. After tham antiphone cwethe se mæsse-preost tha collectan p° communionem, and geendige swa tha mæssan, and thone æfen-sang mid anre collectan.

Se mæsse-preost sceal halgian sealt and wæter on ælcum Sunnan-dæge, ær tham the he mæssige, and stredan geond tha cyrcean, and ofer thæt folc, and healdan thæt wæter, gif hit swa habban wille, oth thæt he other halgie on tham othrum Sunnan-dæge.

Man sceal to mæssan don gemencged win and wæter togædere wel clænlice, fortham the thæt win getacnath ure alysednesse thurh thæs Hælende's blode, the he for us ageat, and thæt wæter getacnath witodlice thæt folc the Crist alysde mid his lyffæstan blode. Gif hwa win næbbe ofer ealne thone gear, he nimie linen-hrægel the to note ær ne com, and bedyppe on win thæt he thurh wæt sy, drige thonne on sunnan, and dyppe hine other sythe, drige hine eft, and dyppe thriddan sithe, drige thonne on thære hatan sunnan, healde hine clænlice, and on clænum wætere wæte of tham clathe, and wringe on his calice; do swa lytlum and lytlum oth thæt se clath sy asoht.

Se preost sceal hagian thæt he his offrunga do swithe clænlice

¹ As a preliminary to this hallowing, Durand says, (*Rationale*, l. 6.) that all the lights in the church should be extinguished, and a fresh light struck for communicating to the paschal taper, and thence to other candles. Durant, (*De Rit.* 56.) suggests a reason for this in a tale once current in Jerusalem, respecting Narcissus, bishop there at the close of the second century. Oil being deficient for the services of Easter-eve, to the people's great concern, Narcissus desired the lamps to be replenished by water, which his prayers quickly converted into oil. The story

is found in Eusebius, (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 9,) but the historian's belief in it may be doubted, as he places it among wonderful things traditionally connected with the name of Narcissus among the people of his city. The real origin of the taper ceremonies on Easter eve may be much more conclusively traced to Pagan times. A notion was then common that fire was the first principle of all things, and the superstitious care with which the sacred fire was kept by the vestal virgins of ancient Rome is well known. This fire was, however, always lighted afresh on the

On Easter-eve shall first be a taper hallowed, and then the lesson read, *In principio creavit Ds celum et terram*¹. Let the service afterwards be performed as your books teach you, but you must not sing the offertory on that day, nor the *Agnus Di*, nor the *Communia*, nor go to the kiss of peace. Sing, however, *Gloria in excelsis Do*. After going to the sacrament immediately sing *Alleluia*; and the short psalm therewith, *Laudate Dnm oms gentes*. Let then be begun the antiphon, *Vespere autem Sabbati*, and let the *Magnificat* be fully sung. After the antiphon, let the mass-priest say the post-communion collect, and thus end the mass, and the even-song with a collect.

The mass-priest shall hallow salt and water on every Sunday, before he masses, and sprinkle it all over the church, and over the people, and keep that water, if he would have it so, until he hallows more on another Sunday².

Wine and water, well and cleanly mingled together, must be used at mass, because the wine betokeneth our redemption through the Saviour's blood, which he shed for us, and the water is an expressive token of the people whom Christ redeemed with his vivifying blood. If any one has not wine for all the year, let him take a linen cloth that has never been in use, and dip it in wine till it is wet through, then dry it in the sun, and dip it another time, dry it again, and dip it a third time, then dry it in the hot sun, keep it cleanly, and in clean water let him wet the cloth, and wring it into his chalice: let this be done by little and little until the cloth is squeezed out.

The priest should be careful to make his offerings³ very

1st of March, a day, when openingspring reminded one of creation, and which is commonly at that sort of distance from Easter that might readily tempt Christian teachers into the specious impolicy of transferring its popular ceremonial to their own Church's festival. For assigning this origin to the taper ceremonies, the lesson then to be read from the first of Genesis is a strong confirmation. The ancient Pagans, in fact, sometimes identified fire with the earth. Hence Ovid says, (*Fasti*, vi. 460.)
.....et Tellus Vestaque numen idem est.

The generation of fire from flint and

steel did not inaptly, therefore, upon this principle, represent the creation of the earth.

² From this passage it might seem that *holy water*, as Romanists call this mixture, was not placed at the entrance of churches in Elfric's time. Durant cites various accounts of its power in driving away demons, changing a mare into a woman that had been a woman before, and curing diseases.—(*De Ritt*. 146.) But he omits Raban Maur's good opinion of it as a cattle medicine.—*De Inst. Clerr.* 132.

³ The offerings of a priest appear

thurh clath geseoktod, and his ofsetan ne beon to eald-bacene, and he athwea his calice æfre embe vii night; fortham se witega secth, thæt se bith awyrged se the Godes thenunge deth mid gymeleaste. Forthi ne mot nan blind preost mæssian næffre, forthan the he ne gesihth hwæt he sylf offrath. Micele mede geearniath æt tham Ælmihtigan Gode the him clænlice thenath æt his clænan weofode, and tham folce deth for Gode tha thenunga the to cyrcean gebyrath on asettum timan, and genoh halig byth tham the hylt his clænnyssse, and Gode swa thenath on his gastlican theowdome, gyf he fram heofod leahtrum gehealden bith. Nu cwyth, ic wene, eower sum to me, We nabbath thone fultum thæt we this forthbringan magon, thonne we standath ana æt urum weofode. And ic secge eow thæt ge sceolon læran cnapan and geonge menn eow to fultume, thæt hi æfter eow don tha ylcan thenunga: na eower agene cild the ge unrihtlice gestrynath, ac tha ælfremedan, thæt hi eowre cild beon thurh tha gastlican lare, and ge beoth thonne lareowas, and ge magon swa begytan tha mæstan gethincethu, and swa swa Daniel se witega on his witegunge gesette, Quia autem docti fuerunt, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti, et qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos quasi stelle in perpetuas æternitates. Thæt is on Engliscere spræce, Tha tha gelærede beoth hi scinath swa beorhte swa swa thæs roderes beorhtness, and tha tha manega lærath on thisum life to wisdome tha scinath swa swa steorran sothlice on ecenyssse. Ne most thu na ana mæssian buton man the andwerde, theah the thu for uncyst cleric habban nelle, oththe thu for Godes lufan othre læran nelle, ac healtast Godes pund on thinum swat-clathe, the to ecum wite, swa swa us secth thæt Godspell.

from the *Ordo Romanus*, cited by Dailé, to have been only bread. In England, he was to bake the oflets himself, or have them baked under his own eyes.—(*Anc. LL. and Instt.* ii. 405.) Nothing is said of their being unleavened. Every communicant was bound to offer, hence the parents of infant communicants were to offer for them. Nothing was in very early times accepted at the offertory except bread and wine, of which a sufficiency was used at the sacrament, and the remainder distributed among the officiating clergy, or poor, or both. Oblations offered by non-communicants were refused, and for the pur-

pose of avoiding mistakes, the offerings were first brought into the vestry, and such of them as were accepted, were taken by the chief deacon to the altar. As communions gradually glided into the exhibitions, now called masses among Romanists, oblations of sacramental elements wore out, and other things were taken: hence the fifth Council of Rome, holden under Gregory VII. in 1078, enjoined that something should be offered by every Christian at mass. This is evidently a release from the necessity of offering the sacramental elements. Probably, many wealthy persons had long offered something more acceptable to the

cleanly through a soaked cloth, and let not his oflets¹ be too old-baken, and let him wash his chalice always about once a se'enight; for the prophet saith that he is accursed who doth God's service with carelessness. Therefore no blind priest must ever mass, because he sees not what he himself is offering. A great reward he earns with Almighty God, who serves him purely at his pure altar, and does for the people on God's behalf those services which belong to the church at the set times, being sufficiently hallowed in keeping himself pure, and serving God in his ghostly service, free from serious vices. Now say, I ween, some of you to me, We have not the help to accomplish all this, when we stand alone at our altar. And I say to you that ye should teach lads and young men to help you, that they after you may perform the same ministrations: not your own children whom ye improperly beget, but strangers who may be your children through spiritual instruction: then you really would be teachers, and might so gain the greatest credit, as you may thus learn from the prophecy of Daniel the prophet, *Quia autem docti fuerunt, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti, et qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos quasi stelle in perpetuas æternitates*. That is in English speech, Because they were learned, they shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and those who instruct many in this life to justice, shall shine verily as the stars for ever and ever. Thou must not mass alone without one to make the responses to thee, however unwilling thou mayest be from parsimony to have a clerk, or for the love of God to teach others, holding God's pound in thy napkin, to thy eternal punishment, as the Gospel tells us.

clergy, for Walafrid Strabo, in the ninth century, finds fault with such as offer *inordinately*, but sometimes will not stay to communicate: a plain proof, by the way, that the ninth century knew nothing of the modern Romish fashion, of remaining in communion time, merely to look on. In Gregory the Great's time, non-communicants were sent out of church before the sacrament was administered, or in modern Romish language, before mass was begun, by the following notice from the deacon, *Si quis non communicat, det locum*.—(GREG. M. *Diall.* lib. 2, cap. 23. *Opp.* Paris. 1571, p. 970.) Perhaps it may be thought

that some especial communion day may be meant. But the pope says, this notice was *ex more, cum missarum solemnia celebrarentur*. What would be said now of such an order before the ceremony called mass?—DAL-LÆUS. *De Cultt.* 289. BONA. *De Rerr. Liturg.* 201, 395. LABB. *et* COSS. *Concc.* x. 374. *Bampt. Lect.* 1830, p. 110.

¹ See p. 237. The *oflet* was of a round figure, and baked expressly for the purpose. Some of these sacramental cakes were often placed in the coffins of deceased priests.—MABILLON. *An-nall. Bened.* ii. 219.

Sume preostas gefyllath heora husel-box on Eastron, and heal-dath ofer twelf monath to untrumum mannum, swilce thæt husel sy haligre thonne other, ac hi doth unwislice, forthan the hit wannath, oththe mid ealle forrotath, on swa langsum fyrste, and he bith thonne scyldig, swa swa us secth seo boc. Se the husel forhyllt, oththe hi forlist, oththe hit mys eton, oththe othre nytenu, sceawa tha penitentialem hwæt he segth be thisum. Eal swa halig is thæt husel the bith gehalgod to-dæg, swa thæt the bith gehalgod on tham halgan Easter-dæge. Healdath forthig, ic bidde, thonne halgan Cristes lichaman mid maran wisdomes to seocum mannum fram Sunnan-dæge to Sunnan-dæge on swithe clænum boxe, oththe be tham mæstan, fewertyneniht, and thicgath hit thonne, and lecgath thær other. We habbath bysene be tham on Moyse's bocum, swa swa God sylf behead on Moyse's æ, thæt se sacerð sceolde on ælcum Sæternes-dæge settan twelf hlafas on tham tabernaculo, ealle nibacene, tha wæron gehatene panes propositionis, and hi sceoldon standan thær on Godes getealde oth otherne Sæternes-dæg, and etan hi thonne tha sacerðas sylfe, and settan thær othre. Sume preostas nellath thicgan thæt husel thæt hi halgiath. Nu wille we eow secgan hu se boc segth be tham, Presbiter missam celebrans, et non audens sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia sua, anathema est: Se mæsse-preost the mæssiath, and ne deær thæt husel thicgan, wat hine scildigne: se is amansumod. Læsse pleoh is to thicgenne thæt husel thonne to halgienne. Se the æniges thinges onbyrighth, ætes oththe wætes, ostran oththe ofæt, wines oththe wæteres, ne ræde he pistol ne godspell to mæssian. Gif hit hwa thonne deth, he unarwurthath God, and mid thære drystignysse hine sylfne fordeth. Se the tuwa halgath

¹ All the preceding paragraph occurs with scarcely a variation in Elfric's *Epistle to Wulfine*, commonly called his *Canons*.

² Raban Maur, evidently using the words of Isidore, thus deals with the term *sacrificium* eucharistically taken. "Sacrificium dictum, quasi sacrum factum, quod prece mystica consecratur in memoriam dñicæ passionis, unde hoc, eo jubente, in corpus Christi et sanguinem Dñi, quod dum sit ex fructibus terræ sanctificatur, et fit sacramentum, operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei."—(*De Inst. Clerr.* 57.) Cyprian also, blaming a wealthy female who came to communicate without an of-

fering of her own, says to her in a well-known passage, *sine sacrificio venis*.—(DALLÆUS. *De Cult.* 290.) By the *sacrifice*, therefore, was often understood anciently the ante-oblation, or material offering which communicants brought, and the priest consecrated, if necessary, if not, set aside for the purposes of religion, or charity. The post-oblation follows consecration, and is eucharistic and commemorative.

³ For this practice of receiving the Eucharist fasting, the second council of Mâcon, holden in 585, gives the following reason: "Injustum enim est, ut spiritali alimento corporale præponatur."—(LABB. *et* COSS. v. 982.)

Some priests fill their eucharist-box at Easter, and keep it over twelve months for sick men, as if that eucharist were holier than other: but they do unwisely, for it loses its colour, or becomes rotten all over, in so long a space, and the individual is then to blame, even as the book tells us. He who overkeeps the eucharist, or loses it, or mice eat it, or other animals, consider the Penitential what it says of these things. Just as holy is the eucharist that is hallowed to-day, as that which is hallowed on the holy Easter-day. Keep, therefore, I pray, the holy body of Christ with more wisdom for sick men, from Sunday to Sunday, in a very clean box, or at the most, for a fortnight, and then receive it, and lay some more there¹. We have an example in the books of Moses, even among the legal commands given there by God himself, that the priest should, on every Saturday, set twelve loaves in the *tabernaculo*, all new-baken, which were called *panes propositionis*, and which should stand there in God's tabernacle until another Saturday, when the priests themselves should eat them, and set others there. Some priests will not receive the eucharist which they hallow. Now will we tell you how the book saith about them, *Presbiter missam celebrans, et non audens sumere sacrificium*², *accusante conscientia sua, anathema est*: The mass-priest who masseth, and dares not receive the eucharist, knows himself guilty: he is excommunicated. Less danger is it to receive the eucharist than to hallow it. He who tastes any thing, solid or liquid, oyster or fruit, wine or water, let him not read the epistle or gospel at mass. If any one do so then, he affronts God, and by this presumption he undoes himself³. He who hallows twice one

The usage, therefore, seems to have turned upon a superstitious notion, that food of a sacred character should take precedence of any merely natural. It is, however, observable, that neither the fathers at Mâcon, nor a previous canon of the African church cited by them, enjoin fasting upon ordinary communicants, but only upon the officiating clergy. But men are so easily caught by strictness in trifles, that the fasting system extended, until Anglo-Saxon mothers were prohibited from suckling their infants, or giving them food of any kind, if it could possibly be helped, on the days when they were brought to communi-

cate, until the communion was over.—(*Bampt. Lect.* 1830, p. 110.) From this prohibition it is observable, that the infants were not brought to *mass*, in the modern Romish acceptation of that term, that is, to gaze at a dramatised communion without communicants, or more properly to hang in the arms of mothers thus gazing. They came to receive, and that for a whole week together, after baptism. Romanists, in forsaking the religious usages of their forefathers at a communion, being lookers-on instead of communicants, were told at Trent, that they come to be present at a *true, proper, and propitiatory* sacrifice, beneficial to non-recipients,

ane ofletan to husle; se bith tham gedwolan gelic, the an cild fullath tuwa.

Crist sylf gehalgode husel ær his throwunge, he bletsode thone hlaƿ, and tobræc, thus cwethende to his halgum apostolum, Etath thisne hlaƿ, hit is min lichama. And he eft bletsode ænne calic mid wine, and cwæth heom thus to, Drincath ealle of thisum, hit is min agen blod thære niwan gecytnysse, the byth for manegum agoten on synna forgyfenyse. Se Drihten, the halgode husel ær his throwunge, and cwæth, thæt se hlaƿ wære his agen lichama, and thæt win wære witodlice his blod, se halgath dæghwamlice, thurh his sacerda handa, hlaƿ to his lichaman, and win to his blode, on gastlicere geryne; swa swa we rædath on bocum.

Ne bith se liflica hlaƿ lichamlice swa theah se ylca lichama the Crist on throwode, ne thæt halige win nis thæs Hælandes blod the for us agoten wæs on lichamlican thinge. Ac on gastlican andgyte, ægther bith sothlice se hlaƿ his lichama, and thæt win eac his blod; swa swa se heofonlica hlaƿ, the we hatath manna, the feowertig geara afedde Godes folc, and thæt hluttre wæter wæs witodlice his blod, the arn of tham stane on tham wæstene tha. Swa swa Paulus awrat on summon his pistole, Oms patres nostri eandem escam spiritualement manducaverunt, et oms eundem potum spiritualement biberunt: et cetera: Ealle ure fæderas æton, on tham westene, thone ylcan gastlican mete, and thone gastlican drenc druncon. Hi druncon of gastlican stane, and se stan wæs Crist. Se apostol sæde, swa swa ge nu gehyrdon, thæt hi ealle æton thone ylcan gastlican mete, and hi ealle druncon thone gastlican drenc. Ne quæth he na lichamlice ac gastlice. Næs Crist tha gyt geboren, ne his blod næs agoten, tha thæt Israhela folc geæt thone mete, and of tham stane dranc; and se stan næs lichamlice Crist, theah he swa cwæde; hit wæron tha ylcan gerynu on thære ealdan æ and hi gastlice getacnodon thæt gastlice husel uræs Hælandes lichaman, the we halgiath nu².

but antiquity would lead them to suspect, that the sacrifice, which Fathers talk of, may mean their own offerings consecrated for their own receiving.

¹ Foxe and L'Isle say "one host to housel." But this does not appear very intelligible. The term *housel*, indeed, commonly used in translating Saxon, is so completely obsolete, that it would be, perhaps, better discarded from books. Hence *eucharist* has latterly

been substituted for it in this work. Its origin is evidently the Gothic *huns*, a word which occurs three times in the extant portions of Ulphilas's version of the New Testament. In St. Matt. ix. 13, it stands for *sacrifice*, in the authorised English version; *onsægdnes*, in the Anglo-Saxon; *sacrificium*, in the Vulgate; and *θυσία*, in the original. In St. Mark, ix. 49, it stands for *offering* in the Anglo-Saxon, and *victima*

offet for the eucharist¹, is like the heretics, who twice baptise one child.

Christ himself hallowed the eucharist before his passion: he blessed the bread and broke it, thus saying to his holy Apostles, Eat this bread; it is my body. And he afterwards blessed a cup with wine, and saith thus to them, Drink all of this; it is my own blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. The Lord, who hallowed the eucharist before his passion, and saith, that the bread was his own body, and the wine was truly his blood, he halloweth daily through his priests' hands, bread for his body, and wine for his blood, in spiritual mystery, even as we read in books.

The lively bread is not, however, bodily, the same body that Christ suffered in, nor is the holy wine the Saviour's blood that for us was shed in corporeal reality. But in spiritual meaning, both the bread is truly his body, and the wine also is his blood; even as the heavenly bread which we call manna, which forty years fed God's folk, and the clear water that ran from the rock in the wilderness was truly his blood. Paulus, accordingly, wrote in one of his epistles, *Oms patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, et oms eundem potum spiritualem biberunt: et cetera*: All our fathers ate, in the wilderness, the same spiritual meat, and drank the spiritual drink. They drank of the spiritual rock, and that rock was Christ. The apostle said, even as ye now heard, that they all ate the same spiritual meat, and they all drank the spiritual drink. He does not, however, say bodily, but spiritually. Then Christ was not as yet born, nor was his blood shed, when the people of Israel ate the meat, and drank of the rock; and the rock was not Christ bodily, though he said so: these were merely the sacraments under the old law, and they spiritually betokened the spiritual eucharist of our Saviour's body which we hallow now.

in the Vulgate: the original and English terms are the same as in the former case. In St. John, xvi. 2, it stands for *service* in the English, *obsequium*, in the Vulgate, and *λατρεία*, in the original. The Anglo-Saxon renders the two words *doeth service*, by *thenige*. In all these cases, therefore, except the last, *hunsl* denotes the surrender of a material object for religious uses, and it is plain that such a

principle generally entered into Anglo-Saxon ideas of sacrifice. Hence even infants could not be admitted to that eucharistic and commemorative repast, which was deemed indispensable for their spiritual nurture, until their parents had offered for them.

² At this point ends the extract printed by Foxe and L'Isle. It begins with the censure upon the superstition of those priests who fill their houses or

Sume preostas nellath syllan tham folce husel buton hy hit gebicgon, ne heora bearn fullian; ac hi sceolon understandan hu se Hælend adræfde mid geworhtne swipe tha cypan of tham temple: nolde thæt hi mangodon on tham mæran huse; and hu he eac behead on his halgan godspelle, Gratis accepiſtis, gratis date. Ge hit underfengon butan geearnungum, doth hit eac othrum butan geearnungum. Gif ge, tha halgan thenunga the we tham Hælende doth, syllath with feo, hwæt sylth he us thonne thara laca we moton be Godes leafe brucan the man sylf-willes deth, ac we hit sceolon geearnian?

Man ne mot logian andluman innan cyrcan, ne corn, ne nan thing on Cristes huse, butan tham anum thingum the to his thenungum gebyriath.

Sume preostas mengath win to tham font-wætere, swithe unrihtlice, ongean tha gesetnysse, swa swa he cwyrth to Gode on thære font-bletsunge, Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito: Thæt is on Engliscum gereorde, Bleta thu, Drihten, thas anfealdan wæteru mid thinum halgan muthe. Ac thæt wæter ne bith na anfeald gif thær bith win to-gedon, and Crist ne het na fullian his folc mid wine, ac mid anfealdum wætere, swa swa us gewissath thæt Godspell.

Ge sceolon cunnan gemyndlice, and mannum eac seggan tha tyn ælican word the God tæhte Moysen, and mid his fingre awrat on twam stænenum tabulum, on tham munte Sinai, eallum mannum to steore, ge tham ealdum folce tha, ge us the nu syndon. Hoc Decalogum Moysi: Thæs synd tha tyn beboda, the eac God sylf clypode of tham ylcan munte mid micelre stemne to eallum tham mannum the mid Moyse wæron on tham wæstene tha. Ego sum Dns Ds tuus, qui eduxi te de tra Ægypti: non habebis deos alienos coram me. Thæt is on Englise, Ic eom Drihten thin God, Ic the alædde of Egypta lande, ne hafa

eucharist box at Easter for a whole year's use among the sick. Much of it is to be found in the epistle to Wulfſine, or *Elfric's Canons*; many things also are in the famous Paschal homily, (styled in two MSS. in the Public Library at Cambridge, *Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Paschæ*,) but upon the whole, the doctrine is brought out more forcibly in this epistle to Wulfstan, than in either of the other pieces.

This may appear an additional reason for believing that the epistle to Wulfstan has been rightly considered as posterior to the other two pieces. That it is by the same author, and not by Elfric Bata, or some other writer, may fairly be presumed from the identity of doctrine, and even of language, running through all the three. The important passage from 1 Cor. x, which explains the Christian sacra-

Some priests will not give the eucharist to the people, unless they buy it, nor baptise their children; but they should understand, how the Saviour drove with a scourge that he had made, the dealers out of the temple: he would not have them trade in the great house: and how also, he bade in his holy Gospel, *Gratis accepistis, gratis date*: You received it without compensation, bestow it in like manner upon others without compensation. If ye give for money the holy ministrations which we do to the Saviour, shall we not forfeit our right to those presents, which, by God's leave, we might enjoy, being voluntarily given, and fairly earned?

People must not lodge goods in a church, or corn, or any thing, in Christ's house, except the things alone that appertain to his ministrations.

Some priests mingle wine with the font-water, very improperly, contrary to the institution: thus one saith to God in the font-blessing, *Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicto*: That is in English language, Bless thou, Lord, these simple waters with thy holy mouth. But the water is not simple if there be wine added to it, and Christ did not command to baptise his people with wine, but with simple water, even as the Gospel informs us.

Ye should know by heart, and also explain to the people the ten commandments of the law, which God taught Moses, and wrote with his finger on two tables of stone, on the mount Sinai, for the direction of all men, as well for the old people then, as for us who are now. *Hoc Decalogum Moysi*: These are the ten commandments, which even God himself proclaimed from the same mount with a great voice to all the people who were then with Moses in the wilderness. *Ego sum Dns Ds tuus, qui eduxi te de tra Ægypti: non habebis deos alienos coram me*. That is in English, I am the Lord, thy God, I led thee

ments by God's dealings with the Israelites in the wilderness, is evidently taken from Bertram, or more properly Ratramn, but Elfric has pushed it more completely home. He has used it in the eucharistic Paschal homily, but not in the epistle to Wulf-sine. This is, indeed, by far the least considerable of the three famous Anglo-Saxon testimonies against transubstantiation. The whole three, with

their precursor, Ratramn's tract, seem like a mass of circumstantial evidence as to a progress in the belief in the corporal presence. The continental piece, though clear enough to the point, is the most guarded of the four, and the epistle to Wulfstan, the least so. This would be the natural course of events, if, in spite of scholarly efforts to stop it, superstition was continually at work upon the ancient eucharistic faith.

thu ælfremde godas ætforan me nateshwon. Thæt is thæt forme bebod, thæt we symle wurthion Ælmihtigan God; se the ana is God, seo halge Thrynnys the ealle thing gescop, on anre godcundnysse æfre rixiende; and we ne sceolon na wurthian tha dwollican godas, hi ne synd godas, ac gramlice deoflu.

Thæt other bebod is thus, Non adsumes nom Dni Dei tui in vanum: Ne underfoh thu on idel thines Drihtnes naman. Se underfeth on idel his Drihtnes naman se the gelyfth swa on Crist thæt he sy gesceapen, and nele gelyfan thæt he æfre God wære mid his Ælmihtigan Fæder on anre godcundnysse, and mid tham Halgan Gaste on anum mægenthrymne. He nis na gesceaft, ac is soth scyppend, and ælc sceaft is sothlice undertheod nu idelnysse, thæt is, awendedlicnysse, forthan the tha gesceaftu beoth to beteran thingum awende.

Thæt thridde bebod is, Memento ut diem sabbati scifices. Thæt is on urum gereordum, Beo thu gemyndig thæt thu gehalgie thone halgan resten-dæg. Under Moyses æ, men halgodon tha thone Sæternes-dæg mid swithlicum wurthmynte fram theowtlicum weorcum; and we sceolon us healdan fram theowtlicum weorcum, thæt syndon synna gewiss, the gebringath on theowytte, tha the hi swithorst begath: swa swa se Hælend cwæth on his halgan Godspelle, Om̃s qui facit peccatum servus peccati: Ælc thara the synne gewyrcth is thære synne theow. We sceolon gastlice healdan Godes resten-dæg, swa thæt we sylfe beon fram synnum æmtige, and se dæg beo gehalgod on us sylfum swa. Fela thinga getacnath se fore-sæde ræsten-dæg, ac we healdath nu, æfter thæs Hælendes æriste, thone Sunnan-dæge freolsne; forthan the he of deathe aras on tham Easterlican Sunnan-dæge, and se Sunnan-dæg is on gesceapnysse fyrrest, and we sceolon eac hine æfre wurthian, Gode to wurthmynte, on gastlicum theowdome.

Thas threo bebodu wæron on anre tabulan awritene, and tha othre seofan on othre tabulan.

Thæt feorthe bebod is, Honora patrem tuum, et matrem tuam. Thæt is on Engliscere spræce, Arwurtha thinne fæder, and eac thine moder. Se the wyrige fæder oththe moder, se is deathes

¹ A reader happily brought up among Protestants may feel surprised at such a second commandment, and look through the series to see if he can find the prohibition of graven images any where else. His eye would be more likely thus to wander if he had ever heard Romanists say that they no more take liberties with the Decalogue, than Protestants, only

from the land of Egypt: have thou not strange gods before me on any account. This is the first commandment, that we constantly honour Almighty God, who alone is God, the holy Trinity, that created all things, ever reigning in one divinity: and we should not any way honour the false gods, which are not gods, but raging devils.

The second commandment is thus, *Non adsumes nom. Dni Dei tui in vanum*: Take thou not in vain thy Lord's name¹. He takes in vain his Lord's name who so believes in Christ as if he were created, and will not believe that was ever God with his Almighty Father in one divinity, and with the Holy Ghost in one majesty. He is not a creature, but is the true creator, and every creature is indeed subject now to vanity, that is, mutability, for the creatures will be changed to better things.

The third commandment is, *Memento ut diem sabbati scifices*. That is in our language, Be thou mindful that thou hallow the holy resting-day. Under the law of Moses, men then hallowed the Saturn's-day with especial honour from servile works; and we should keep ourselves from servile works, which are motions of sin, which bring into servitude those who much give way to them, even as the Saviour saith in his holy Gospel, *Oms qui facit peccatum servus peccati*: Every one of those who commit sin is the servant of sin. We should spiritually keep God's resting-day, so that we ourselves be free from sins, and the day thus be hallowed in ourselves. Many things mark the aforesaid resting-day, but we keep now, since the Saviour's resurrection, the Sunday as a festival; because he arose from death on Easter Sunday, and the Sunday is foremost in creation, and we should ever honour it, in honour of God, in spiritual servitude.

These three commandments were written on one table, and the other seven on another table.

The fourth commandment is, *Honora patrem tuum, et matrem tuam*. That is in English speech, Honour thy father and also thy mother. He who curses father or mother is one guilty

follow some ancient authorities in arranging it differently. Here is, however, not arrangement, but exclusion, and more cases of the same kind may be seen in the Author's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 242. The practice is not extinct, and is not likely to be until Rome rejects the second Council of Nice. People cannot both adhere to that assembly, and face the second commandment.

scyldig. Æfter gastlicum andgite, God is ure fæder, and his halige gelathung, thæt is, geleafful folc, is ure gastlice modor, on thære we beoth acennede on tham halgan fullukte Gode to bearnum; and we forþi sceolon God urne fæder, and his gastlican bryde, tha halgan cyrcan symle wurthian.

Thæt fife bebod is, Non occides: Ne ofsleh thu nan man. Thæt is seo mæste syn thæt man man ofsleah unscyldigne, oththe he his sawle ofslea gyf hi hine to synne tiht; and yfel bith tham menn the mæg gehelpen tham wædligan menn, and forwyrnth him his goda, and læt hine acwelan for his uncyste.

Thæt sixte bebod is, Non mechaberis: Ne unriht hæm thu. Ælc thæra manna the butan rihtre æwe hæmth, he hæmth unrihtlice.

Thæt seofthe bebod is, Non furtum facies; thæt is, Ne stala thu; fortham se the stylth, he hæfth wulfes wican, and na wises mannes; and se rica the berypth, and mid nednyse ofsitt tha unscyldigan menn, he is sothlice wyrsa thonne se digela theof, forthan the he deth openlice thæt se other deth dearnunga symle.

Thæt eahtothe bebod is, Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium: Ne beoth thu leas-gewita. Hit it is sothlice awriten, Ne bith se leasa gewita ungewitnod nates-hwon; and se the sprecþ leasunga he sceal losian sylf. Wa tham the for sceattum forsylyth hine sylfne, and awent soth to leasum, and leas to sothum.

Thæt nigothe bebod is, Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui: Ne gewilna thu othres mannes wifes.

Thæt teothe bebod is, Non concupisces ullam rem proximi tui: Ne gewilna thu othres mannes æhta. Hit bith riht thæt gehwa hæbbe thæt he sylf begyt, buton he geunne othrum mannum sylfwilles; and gehwa ofgange, æfter Godes rihte, othres mannes thing, oththe he hit forgange.

Nu ge habbath gehyred be tham healicum tyn bebodum: nu wille we eow secgan scortlice eac swilce be tham eahta heafod

¹ Alluding probably to Ps. v. 6, where *speak leasing*, that is, falsehood, is still the version of our Prayer Book. | *Sprecaþ leasunga* is the Anglo-Saxon version there.

of death. After spiritual meaning, God is our father, and his holy congregation, that is, believing people, is our spiritual mother, in whom we are born by holy baptism as God's children; and we therefore should ever honour God, our father, and his spiritual bride, the holy church.

The fifth commandment is, *Non occides*: Slay thou not any man. It is a very great sin when one man slays another who is innocent, or slays his soul by enticing it into sin; and evil will it be to those people who can help the needy, but deny them any of their goods, and let them perish from their own covetousness.

The sixth commandment is, *Non mechaberis*: Make thou no unrighteous connection. Every one of those men who has intercourse with any other than a lawful wife, makes an unrighteous connection.

The seventh commandment is, *Non furtum facies*; that is, Steal not thou; for he that steals has the ways of a wolf, and not of a wise man; the rich man too who plunders, and reduces the unoffending people to distress, he is really worse than the secret thief, for he does openly what the other never does without concealment.

The eighth commandment is, *Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium*: Be thou not a false witness. It is truly written, The false witness shall by no means be unpunished, and he who speaks leasing¹ shall destroy himself. Woe to them who for money sell themselves, turning truth to lies, and lies to truth.

The ninth commandment is, *Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui*: Covet thou not another man's wife.

The tenth commandment is, *Non concupisces ullam rem proximi tui*: Covet thou not another man's property. It is right that every man have whatever he himself got, unless he bestows it on other people of his own will; and let every one keep off, according to God's law, from that which belongs to another until he forgoes it.

Now ye have heard about the ten chief commandments; we will, therefore, tell you in the same short way about the eight²

² Aquinas makes the capital vices to be seven, namely, *Inanis Gloria*, *Invidia*, *Ira*, *Avaritia*, *Tristitia*, *Gula*, *Luxuria*. Prima Secundæ. Col. Agr. 1622, p. 147.

leahtrum the tham unwaran men fordoth, and witodlice besencath on tha ecan witu.

Se forma heafod leakter is on Leden, Superbia, and on Englisc, Modignyss. Seo gemacode to deoflum tha witegan englas the wunedon on heofonum; and se modiga mann ne mæg cuman on heofonum, ac bith thara deofla gefera, buton he thæs dysiges gewice, forthan the modignyss is swithe mycel dysig, and se wisa man nat on hwam he modige. Seo modignyss bith ælces yfeles ord and ende, ac heo bith oferswithed thurh tha sothan eadmodnysse. Seo eadmodnysse gedeth thæt tha eadmodan beoth englum gelice on tham ecan life.

Se other heafod leakter is Gastrimargia, vel Gula, thæt is, on Englisc, Gyfærnyss. Se awearp æt frumam tha frum-secapenan men of neorxnan-wange, tha tha hi æton of tham forbodenan treowe; and se man bith gifre, the for gifernisse ne mæg his mæles onbidan, swa swa man don seal, and se the druncennysse to dysiglice begæth, and on oferflowednysse gefadath his lif. Thone untheaw oferswyth seo gesceadwise gemetegung thæt he hæbbe gemet on metum and on drencum.

Se thridda heafod leakter is Fornicatio, thæt is, seo Galnys, tha oferswyth seo clænnys.

Se feortha heafod leakter is Avaritia, on Leden, and on Englisc, Gitsung. Seo ontent thone man to maran æhte æfre, and heo næfre ne bith full. Se bith oferswithed thurh cystignysse swa theah.

Se fifta is Ira, thæt is, Weamodnys, thæt se man ne mæge his mod gewildan, ac buton ælcum wisdomes wodlice yrsath, and manslihtas gefremmath, and fela nednyssa. Thone mæg oferswithan thæs modes gewild, se the mid gesceade him sylfon gewissath.

Se sixta is Accidia, thæt is, Asolcennys, thæt is modes sarnys, and ungemetod slapolnys, thæt se man beo ungearo to ælcum gode æfre. Thes leakter gemacath mycel yfel tham menn, thonne he

¹ More properly, and not unusually, written *Acedia*, its etymology being ἀκηδία. The French sometimes well translate the word by *ennui*. It was the great infirmity, or vice, as ascetic spirits considered it, of a monk's or hermit's life. Men urged upon such a course by some temporary impulse, often broke completely down under

its wearisome monotony, and utter hopelessness of any earthly change. They lost all relish for the endless calls of a formal piety, and even loathed every return of them, yet neither public opinion, nor their own sense of duty allowed any escape. Before the civil power, however, lent stringency to monastic vows, an intoler-

capital vices which undo unwary people, and indeed sink them in everlasting punishments.

The first capital vice is in Latin, *Superbia*, and in English, Pride. This made into devils the beautiful angels who lived in the heavens; and the proud man cannot get to heaven, but will be a companion of the devils, unless he leaves his folly off, for pride is a very great folly, and a wise man does not know what he has to be proud of. Pride is the beginning and end of every evil, but it is overcome by means of true humility. From humility it comes to pass that the lowly-minded will be like angels in the everlasting life.

The second capital vice is *Gastrimargia, vel Gula*, that is, in English, Greediness. This cast out at the beginning the first-created human beings from paradise, when they ate of the forbidden tree; and the man is greedy, whose impatience knows not how to wait for a meal, as one ought to do; he too, who like a fool, is given up to drunkenness, and lets excess direct his life. This vice is overcome by that rational temperance which sets one a bound in meats, and in drinks.

The third capital vice is *Fornicatio*, that is, Lasciviousness, which purity overcomes.

The fourth capital vice is *Avaritia*, in Latin, and in English, Covetousness. This constantly kindles in men the desire of more property, and it is never satisfied. It is overcome by means of liberality notwithstanding.

The fifth is *Ira*, that is, Waywardness, which makes a man unable to govern his own mind, and madly to grow angry without any reason; from this come manslaughters and many violent acts. It may be overcome by that mastery over the mind, which enables a man to guide himself with discretion.

The sixth is *Accidia*¹, that is, Listlessness, or a depression of spirits and immoderate sluggishness, which make man never ready for any good. This vice causes much evil to men, since

able feeling of irksomeness did really sometimes make men retract a hasty farewell to social habits. This appears from the following passage in Alcuin *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*. "Acedia est pestis, quæ Deo famulantibus multum nocere probatur, dum otiosus homo torpescit in desideriis carnalibus, nec in opere gaudet spirituali, nec in salute

animæ suæ lætatur, nec in adiutorio fraterni laboris hilarescit: sed tantum concupiscit et desiderat, et otiosa mens per omnia discurrit. Hæc et quæ maxime monachos excutit de cella in seculum, et de regulari conversatione ejicit eos in abrupta vitiorum." — *Opp.* ii. 143.

thurh asolcennysse swa aswunden leofath thæt he nan thing to gode ne deth on his life, and nan edlean næfth butan ece wite. Se leahter bith oferswithed thurh thæs modes anrædnysse, thæt se man beo anræde æfre on godum weorcum.

Se seofotha heafod leahter is Tristitia, on Leden, thæt is, on Englisc, Unrotnys, for mislicum gelimpum the mannum becymth on cwealme, and on lyrum, oththe on freonda forthsithe, thonne murcnath se mann on his mode to swithe, and ceorath on gean God ungesceadwislice. Twa unrotnysse syndon, swa swa us secgath bec, an is theos yfele, the we embe sprecath, other is halwende, swa swa we her secgath, thæt se man unrotsige for his ærrum synnum, and hi behreowsige mid rædfæstum mode. Seo yfele unrotnys bith eac oferswythed thurh tha gastlican blisse the man for gode habban sceal.

Se eahtotha heafod leahter is Cenodoxia, id est, Jactantia, vel Vana Gloria, thæt is Gylp, on Englisc, oththe Getot-gereht; thæt se man beo lof-georn, and mid gylpe afulled, theah he nateshwon hergendlic ne sy, and bith thonne hiwere thurh thone heafod leahter, and ranc on his gylpum, and unrædfæst on dædum. Thone leahter oferswith seo sothe lufu on Gode on urum heortum agoten thurh thone Halgan Gast.

Nu ge habbath gehyred tha eahta heafod leahtras, and eac tha eahta mihta the hi magon oferswithan. Warniath eow with tha leahtras, and leorniath tha mihta, thæt ge magon oferswithan tha onsigendan deor, and heora tothum ælberstan; fortham the nan thing bith swa yfel on thisum life thæt læcedom næbbe thurh thæs Hælendes foresceawunge, the hylt ealle thing, gif we læcedomas us sylfum don cunnan.

Debetis in Purificatione See Marie Candelas benedicere.

Ge sceolon, on tham mæsse-dæg, the is gehaten Purificatio

¹ Durand says, no doubt truly enough, that these candle ceremonies arose from an adaptation of similar Pagan formalities which ushered in February. He attributes the credit, if it be any, of thus continuing a heathen superstition under a new name, to Pope Sergius, *ul ritum Gentilium in melius commuet religio Xpiana*. Tapers might be offered upon this occasion, because they were used in celebrating the Lord's

Supper, or at mass, as the phrase ran, even in the day-time eventually. Upon the same principle, oil and incense were allowed among eucharistic oblations, so early as the time when the canons that go under the name of the Apostles were compiled.—(Canon 3.) They do not, however, appear to have been considered as real offerings, that is, *sacrifices*. The permission to receive them is given by *προσάγεισθαι*,

indolence may take such a hold upon them, as to keep them from doing any good while they live, and from having any reward but eternal punishment. The vice is overcome by that steadiness of mind which makes man always ready for good works.

The seventh capital vice is *Tristitia*, in Latin, that is, in English, Sadness, for various accidents that come to men, in sickness, and in losses, or in the death of friends, when a man grieves in his mind to excess, and unwisely murmurs against God. There are two sadnesses, as books tell us, one is the bad kind that we are speaking about, the other is salutary, which we have now to mention, making a man sorry for his former sins, and bent upon repenting of them. The bad sadness is overcome by that happy frame of mind which goodness is certain to bestow on man.

The eighth capital vice is *Cenodoxia*, *id est*, *Jactantia*, *vel Vana Gloria*, that is, Vanity, in English, or Pomposity; which makes a man vain-glorious, and filled with conceit, though there may be nothing in him to praise; he is therefore a pretender, whom a capital vice, urges upon offensive boasts, and unsteady deeds. This vice is overcome by the true love of God shed in our hearts through the Holy Ghost.

Now ye have heard the eight capital vices, and also the eight mights that can overcome them. Be upon your guard against the vices, and learn the mights, that ye may be able to overcome the beasts that lie wait, and escape their teeth; since nothing is so bad in this life as to have no cure provided for it by the Saviour, who will take care of all things, if we ourselves know how to make use of his medicines.

Debetis in Purificatione Scē Marie Candelas benedicere'.

Ye should, both clerical and lay, on the mass-day, which is

now commonly translated by *offerre*, but formerly, it seems from Suicer, (*in voc. προσάγω.*) by *admovere*. which he thinks the less correct of the two. Perhaps he is wrong: *προσενέγκη* is used in the canon, for speaking of the bread and wine, and probably, because the real offerings, and things merely subsidiary to their administration, were designedly placed upon different foot-

ings. The use of lights when the sun was up, a practice learnt from Pagans, is forbidden by the 37th canon of the Council of Elvira, a difficulty which Durant (*De Ritt.* 58,) meets by observing that the council was provincial. This reason also serves to invalidate its testimony in the 36th canon against images.—*LABB. et Coss.* i. 26, 974.

See Marie, bletsian candela, and beran mid lofsange, gehadode, gelæwede, to proccessionem, and offrian hi swa byrnende, æfter tham Godspelle, tham mæsse preoste, mid tham offrung-sange.

Ge sceolon bletsian axan, on Caput Jeiunii, and mid halige wætere sprengan do thonne se mæsse-preost on upweardum his hæfde mid thære halgan rode-tacne, and on ealra manna the æt thære mæssan beoth, ær tham the he mæssige and ga to proccessionem.

Ge sceolon, on Palm-Sunnan-dæge, palm twigu bletsian, and reran mid lofsange to proccessionem, and habban on handa, gehadode, gelæwede, and offrian hig syththan æfter tham Godspelle tham mæsse preost mid tham offrung sange. Nu gyf hwa nyte hwæt this getacnige, he leornige æt othrum menn on Leden, oththe on Englisc.

Beoth sothfæste, ic bidde, and betweox eow getrywe, beoth eac snotere, and swithe rihtwise. Ne beswice nan othere, ne ge ne swerion man; ne lufige ge higeleaste, ne ge gligmenn ne beon, sprecath butan athe mid anfealdne bylewitnesse, swa swa se Hælend tæhte on his halgan Godspelle. Lufiath eow betwýnan, and gyf hwa lare ne cunne, he leornige æt othrum the læredra sy, and se mid eadmodnysse hine gewissige. Thæt we willath eac don, gyf us hwa ahsath, swa swa us manath Moyses gesetnyss, Interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi; et cetera. Ahsa thine fæder, and he cyththe embe God: ahsa thine ylðran, hi the andwerdath and secgath.

Uton, beon gemyndige hu se mildheorta Crist cwæth, Lufa thine Drihten God mid ealre thinre heortan, and lufa thine

¹ The *offering-song*, as this portion of the old service was called in Anglo-Saxon times, is of great, but unknown antiquity. Undoubtedly, however, it has not the stamp of the primitive ages. Walafrid Strabo, accordingly, expresses a belief that the holy fathers offered in silence, and remarks the existing trace of this in the silent offerings made on Saturday in Passion-week, or the Holy Sabbath.—DALLÆUS. *De Cult.* 1208.

² Ash-Wednesday.

³ It appears from the pseudo-Alcuin, (*Opp.* ii. 475,) that the priest's assistants (*ministri*) held palms in their

hands until the end of the service. These twigs might be, therefore, considered as needed for the communion-service, or mass, of the day, and hence received upon that occasion, as offerings. This principle may serve to explain the reception of milk and honey as offerings, on the Saturday in Passion week, a practice sanctioned by the African Church so early as 397. This was the time for baptising, and an ancient custom prescribed the giving of milk and honey, as the first food to be tasted after baptism, being emblems of the simple and sweet innocence of childhood. The African Church did

called *Purificatione Scē Marie*, bless candles, and bear them to procession with hymns, and offer them thus burning, after the Gospel, to the mass-priest, while the offertory is being sung¹.

Ye should bless ashes, in *Caput Jejuniū*², and with holy water sprinkle them, when the mass-priest raises his head with the holy sign of the cross, and scatter them on all the people that shall be at the mass, before he masses and goes to procession.

Ye should, on Palm-Sunday, bless palm twigs, and bear them with hymns to procession, and have them in your hands, clergy and laity, and offer them afterwards at the end of the Gospel, to the mass-priest, while the offertory is being sung³. Now if any one know not what this betokens, let him learn of other men in Latin, or in English.

Stick to the truth, I beseech, and be faithful among yourselves, be also prudent, and strictly just. Let no one deceive another, or forswear himself; love not carelessness, and be not gleemen; speak without an oath with single-minded sincerity, even as the Saviour taught in his holy Gospel. Love one another, and if any one know not learning, let him learn of some one else, who may be better instructed, and let that other with humility give him information. This we are also willing to do, if any one ask us, agreeably to the admonition given by Moses, *Interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi; et cetera*. Ask thy father, and he will inform thee about God: ask thy elders, and they will answer and tell thee.

Come, let us be mindful how the kind-hearted Christ saith, Love thy Lord God with all thine heart, and love thy neighbour

not, however, allow these offerings to be confounded with such as were properly eucharistic, but commanded them to have a benediction of their own. Their admission at all among the sacramental oblations of the day may be accounted for by the usage of administering the communion immediately afterwards to the newly-baptised infants, so that the two sacraments, and often confirmation besides, really were different members of one continuous ceremony. Upon the same principle may be explained the offering of oil for episcopal

consecration, on Maundy Thursday. Some of it was to form the oil of catechumens, used before baptism, some again, chrism, used after baptism. Even that for the sick was likely to be used at the same time with domestic administrations of the eucharist. The African Church also allowed offerings of first fruits, but only of corn and grapes, the raw materials of the eucharistic feast, so strictly was every thing made to harmonise with it, when the Lord's Supper was administered.—LABB. *et* COSS. ii. 1068. BONA. 339. DALLÆUS. 290.

nehstan swa swa thesylfne. Thas twa bebodu belucath ealle tha halgan lare; fortham se the God lufath, he gelyfth eac on hine, and nele nan thing don thæs the God oflicige, ac swa swa he fyr-mest mæg, he gefylth his bebodu. And se the his nehstan lufath, nele he him nan lath don, ne his æhta him ætbrædan dearnunga oththe eawunga.

Gefultumige us se Hælend to his halgum bebodum. Se the leofath mid his leofan Fæder, and tham Halgan Gaste, on anre godcundnisse, hi thry an God æfre rixiende. Amen.

even as thyself. These two commandments comprise all the holy lore; for he that loves God believes also in him, and will do nothing that God dislikes, but to the very utmost that he can fulfils his commandments. And he who loves his neighbour, will not do him any harm, or deprive him of his property secretly or openly.

May the Saviour aid us for his holy commandments. He that liveth with his beloved Father, and the Holy Ghost, in one divinity, the three one God ever reigning. *Amen.*

III.

SERMO DE CENA DOMINI¹.

LEOFAN men, ic wille cythan eow eallum, and tham huru the hit ær nystan, hwanon seo bysn ærest aras, thæt bisceopas ascadath ut of cyrican, on foreweardan Lenctene, tha men the mid openan heafod gyltan hi sylfe forgyltath, and eft hy, æfter geornfulne deadbote, into lædeth, on tham dæge the biþh Cena Dni: eal swa to-dæge is.

Ure Drihten gescop and geworht Adam, thone forman man, haligne, and clæne, and synleasne, himsylfum to gelicnesse, and tha sylfan gelicnesse ure Drihten eac lærde and fæste bebed, thæt we georne on us sylfum habban and healdan sculon. He cwæth, Estote sci, quia et ego scs sum. We rædath on bocum, thæt for Adames godnesse, and for his halignesse, God hine gelogode on fruman in paradiso, on ealre myrhthe, and on ealra mærtthe. Thær he geseah Godes englas, and with spræc, and with God sylfne he spræc, and næfre he ne swulte, ne death ne tholode, ne sar ne sorge næfre ne gebide, nære thæt he syngode. Ac sona swa he syngode, and thurh deofles lare breac forbodenan, sona God sylfa, he is ealra bisceopa bisceop, anydde ut thone Adam of thære myrhthe the he ær wæs, and he syththan leofode her on worulde sarig and sorhful tha hwile he leofode, and æfter tham ferde to helle, and thær tha syththan lange wunode on yrmthe, oth thæt Crist hine thanon, thurh his mildheortnysse, of yrmthum brohte, and hine into thære heofonlican cyrican syththan gelædde, the he asyththan inne on wunode, mid Godes englum, and mid his halgum, on ecan wuldre.

Bisceopas syndon to tham gesette on thisne worulde, thæt hy georne sculon, be Cristes bysene, and be his lare, Godes folc thenian to tham the heom thearf sy, and æfter thære bysene the God sylf on Adame astealde, the he hine, for his halignesse, and for his godnesse, on fruman in paradiso gelogode. Æfter thære bysene we lathiath and logiath Cristene men into Godes

¹ *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 99. f. 81.*

² The various formalities used in the Anglo-Saxon church, on this day, are advantageously brought under view in

a Pontifical, beautifully written, but unfortunately imperfect, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. (*Tiberius, C. 1.*) An extract from it, detailing the *Cæna*

III.

SERMON FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER-DAY².

BELOVED men, I will tell you all, and those especially who knew it not before, whence the example first was taken, that bishops exclude from church, at the beginning of Lent, the people who with open capital vices, render themselves guilty; and again, after earnest penance, lead them into it, on the day which is *Cena Dñi*, which is the present day.

Our Lord created and made Adam, the first man, holy, and pure, and sinless, in his own likeness, and the same likeness our Lord also taught and firmly bade, that we should earnestly have and hold in ourselves. He saith, *Estote sci, quia et ego scs sum*. We read in books, that for Adam's goodness, and for his holiness, God lodged him at first in *paradiso*, in all joy, and in all glory. There he saw and spoke with God's angels, and with God himself he spoke, and never could he perish, or suffer death, or expect sore or sorrow, until he sinned. But no sooner did he sin, and through the devil's teaching, break the prohibitions, than God himself, (he is bishop of all bishops,) drove Adam out of the joy in which he was before, and he lived afterwards here in the world sore and sorrowful so long as he lived, and after that went to hell, and there long dwelt in misery, until Christ, through his mercy, brought him thence from miseries, and afterwards led him into the heavenly church, in which he has dwelt ever since, with God's angels, and with his saints, in everlasting glory.

Bishops are for this appointed in the world, that they should earnestly, by Christ's example, and by his lore, train God's folk to that which may be needful for them, and after the example which God himself set in Adam, whom he for his holiness, and for his goodness, at first lodged in *paradiso*. After this example we invite Christian men into God's house, and lodge

Domini ceremonies, may be seen in the Author's *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, p. 110. The MS. is thought to have been chiefly written before the Norman Conquest. The particular

piece in it from which the extract was made, is entitled *Sermo Generalis de Confectione Crismatis in Cæna Domini habitus*.

huse, and we lætath thæt ælc gefullod sy, æfter his fullukte, halig, and thurk thæs halgan fulluktes halignesse wæs wel wyrthe thæt he on cyrican oft syththan gewunige, and Godes lare and lage gelome gehyre. And we lærath thæt gehwa eac tha swythe fæste and rihtlice healde, and hi swithe georne smeage gelome. And gif hwilc man thonne Godes lage swa swithe abrece thæt he hine sylfne openlice with God forwyrce mid healice misdæde, thonne be thære bysene the God on Adame astealde, tha tha he hine nydde ut of paradiso, be thære bysne we eac nyddath ut tha for syngodon of Godes cyrican, oth thæt hi mid eadmodre deadbote hi sylf geinnan to tham thæt hy thyder in eft lædan durran. Eal swa we to-dæg tha don willath the thas halgan tid geornlice bettan thæt hy ær bræcon.

Understande eac Cristena manna gehwilec thæt thæt forbod husl-ganges, and inganges into cyrican, is eal thearflic tham dædbetan the ariht understandan can: thæt he hine sylfne on his gethance for his misdædan swithe threage, and hine sylfne gecnawe swa forworhtne thæt he thæra thinga wyrthe ne sy the tha men syndon the hy sylfe habbath gehealden mid rihte. And theah swa se man sy swithor forsingod, swa he geornor and gelomor Godes hus sece, dæges and nihtes, and cneowige thærute oft and gelome, and clypige to Criste geomeriendum mode, and talige hine sylfne with God swa forworhtne thæt he wyrthe ne sy thæt he gan mote into Godes huse. And æfre swa he hyne sylfne swythor geeadmet on his dædbote, swa biþ his dæbot Gode anfengre, and Godes mildheortnes him miccle the gearwre. And ure ælc mæg be worulddican thingan eac georne gecnawan thæt gyf hwa hæfth his hlaforde sare abolgen, ne byth him na gebeorhlic thæt he him ætforan ga ær he gebete. Nu huru ne byth na gebeorhlic tham the God hæfth forworht hine sylfne ealle to swythe mid openlice dæde, thæt he to hrædlice into Godes huse æfte tham racige; ac stande thærute, and bete swithe georne swa swa him man tæce, oth thæt he mid hreowsunge, and mid geornfulne bote geinnige him sylfne, swa swa bisceop him tæce, into Godes huse. And thonne mæg se bisceop eac thæs mannes syngrina, thurk Godes thafulunge, the swythor gelythian, the thus wile georne, mid eadmodre heortan, helpan him sylfan.

them there, and we consider that every baptised man is, after his baptism, holy, and through the holiness of holy baptism, is well worthy that he oft afterwards frequent the church, and God's lore and law regularly hear. And we teach besides that every one should hold these very firmly and rightly, and should constantly meditate upon them with great earnestness. But if any one God's law so excessively break that he completely ruins himself with God by the higher misdeeds, then by the example which God set in Adam, when he drove him out of *paradiso*, by that example, we also drive out sinners against him from God's church, until they with humble penance themselves allow us to presume upon leading them in thither again. Even so we are willing to do to-day with such as have earnestly done penance in this holy season for that which they broke before.

Let every Christian man also understand that the forbidding of admission to the eucharist, and of entrance into church, is quite necessary for bringing people to a right understanding of penance, leading them to cast within their own minds severe blame upon themselves for their misdeeds, and making them know themselves to be so undone, that they are not worthy of those things which men are who have kept themselves with propriety. And accordingly by how much the worse a man has sinned, by so much the more earnestly and frequently let him seek God's house, day and night, and kneel thereout with little intermission, and call to Christ with mournful mind, and account himself so undone with God, that he is not worthy to go into God's house. And by how much the more severely he humbles himself in his penance, by so much the more acceptable is his penance to God, and God's mercy is much more at hand with him. Now every one of us knows full well in worldly things, that if a person has sorely offended his lord, it is not to be endured that he should go before him until he has given satisfaction. In the same way it is not to be endured that a man who has completely undone himself with God by shameless deeds, should after them rush too hastily into God's house: but let him stand on the outside of it, and do penance very earnestly as he is taught, until with repentance and real satisfaction, according to the bishop's teaching, he has gained an entrance for himself into God's house. The bishop too, with God's permission, may deal more mildly

*Eala leofan men, uton don ealle swa swa us thearf is: utan helpe ure sylfna, and utan anmodlice eallum mode gebugan to Criste, and earnian his miltse swa swa we geornost magon. He is swythe milde; and him symle sy lof and wurthmynt æfre to worulde. Amen*¹.

¹ It might seem from the following penitential prayer, that the Anglo-Saxons thought but little of purgatory when they felt conscious of real repentance. "Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori, et da mihi licentiam in hac vita veram agere pœnitentiam, per

quam deleam omnia peccata mea." —(MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, C. 1, f. 84.) It also seems, that the folly of confessing to saints, that is, to dead persons, probably just as much out of hearing as the dead generally are, had not done more than make a stealthy pro-

with the offences of a man who is thus willing earnestly, and with a humble heart, to help himself.

Come then, beloved men, let us do whatever our cases may require: come, let us help ourselves, and with one consent altogether turn our minds to Christ, and gain his mercy by every means within our power. He is very mild, and to him ever be praise and honour, world without end. *Amen.*

<p>gress among the Anglo-Saxons; although they thought acts invested with an additional solemnity, if done before the relics of saints. This appears from the following form of confession. "Ego confiteor tibi, Pater cœli et terræ, coram hoc altare tuo</p>	<p>sancto, et istius loci reliquiis, et coram sacerdote tuo, omnia peccata mea, et quicquid Dei pietas mihi ad memoriam reducit: de cogitationibus malis, et sermonibus otiosis, sive immundis, et operibus pravis: quæcunque ego feci contra præcepta Dei."—<i>Ibid. C. 6, f. 24.</i></p>
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

TO THE EARLIER EDITIONS OF THE "ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH."

The pages indicated are those of the Second Edition.

Page 8,

Instead of, Augustine claims a fourth part of the tythes for the poor, *read*, a fourth part of the eucharistic oblations.

Page 50,

For Etherius, *read* Virgilius, archbishop of Arles. Bede calls the archbishop of Arles, Etherius. But this is an error. Etherius was bishop of Lyons, and the error lies in the name of the prelate, not in that of the diocese¹.

¹ STEVENSON'S *Bede*, p. 51.

Page 66,

To, He rode, however, to a famous temple, *add*, at Godmundham, in Yorkshire.

Page 75,

For Adhelm, *read* Aldhelm.

Page 77,

For Lestingham, *read* Lavingham.

Page 99,

For, Afterwards he indulged himself in the prevailing pilgrimage to Rome, *read*, He had already visited Rome by the invitation of Sergius I. Mr. Wright says, "Aldhelm's visit to Rome cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 688, because Sergius had only been raised to the

papal chair in the course of the preceding year¹." When Aldhelm was made abbot of Malmesbury is uncertain, but it seems to have been after 680. He was chosen bishop of Sherborne, in 705. His death occurred May 25, 709². Besides his poem *On the Praises of Virginity*, he left a prose work on the same subject.

¹ *Biog. Brit. Literaria*. Lond. 1842, p. 216.

² *Ibid*.

Page 103, note,

Bede's death, though sometimes placed later, certainly took place May 27, 735. He died on Holy Thursday, and May 27. These two requisites for fixing the date occurred in 735.—WRIGHT. *Biog. Brit. Lit.* 268.

Page 103,

For, Contemporaneous with Bede's death, or nearly so, was the consecration of Egbert to the see of York, read, One of Bede's most illustrious friends was Egbert, consecrated to the see of York, in 732. Upon the year of Egbert's consecration, ancient writers differ, but they unanimously place his death in 766. This consent is decisive as to the year of his promotion to York. Alcuin says of him, *Rexit hic ecclesiam triginta et quatuor annis*.—De Pontiff. et SS. Eccl. Ebor. *Opp.* ii. 254.

Page 105, add the following note:

The best edition of Egbert's remains is that by Mr. Thorpe, published in 1840, under the Record Commission, in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. ii. p. 87, *et sequu*. Two of these pieces, the *Dialogue* and *Excerpts*, are wholly Latin; the *Confessional* and *Penitential*, which may be considered as a single work, are Latin, with Anglo-Saxon versions.

Page 108,

Alcuin called himself in Latin *Albinus*, and assumed, according to a fashion of contemporary scholars, the surname of Flaccus¹.

¹ The anonymous biographer, who wrote not long after Alcuin's

death (829), and who derived his information chiefly from Alcuin's pupil and friend, Sigulf, calls him (p. lx.) *nobili gentis Anglorum exortus prosapia*. We learn from himself that he was related to St. Willibrord.—LORENZ. *Life of Alcuin*, 249.

Page 108, in note ², insert,

Malmesbury's text gives an extract from one of Alcuin's letters reciting his testamentary appointment as librarian, but making the prelate's name, *Egbert*. The Ratisbon edition, however, of Alcuin's works, which is far the best, has *magister meus dilectus Helbrechtus archiepiscopus*. This is, undoubtedly, the correct reading. But *Helbrechtus* is Elbert, not Egbert. It was Elbert, and not Egbert, who chiefly taught Alcuin. The latter lived only to begin his education. He was the former's favourite pupil, and chosen by him as a companion on a journey abroad, in quest of books and information. Elbert died in 780. Alcuin's journey for Eanbald's pall appears to have been his third visit to the continent. His first was the literary expedition made with Elbert, when he was about twenty. He then visited Rome. His second journey rests upon inference, and he seems, in the course of it, to have been first introduced to Charlemain.

Page 110, to note ⁴, add,

The date of Alcuin's birth is unknown, but it is commonly and probably placed in or about 735. The most complete and learned account of his life is that by Froben, prince-abbot of Emeram, at Ratisbon, prefixed to the edition of his works printed there in 1777, in 2 vols. fol.

Page 114, add, as a note:

Offa, having expelled Beornraed, succeeded by general consent of the kingdom, A.D. 757.—Hardy's note to Malmesbury. i. 118.

Page 148,

For, He translated the *Geography of Orosius*, with additional matter from other sources, *read*, He translated large selections from the historical work of Orosius, with geographical matter from other sources.

Page 150,

To the burial-place of a British saint, *add*, as a note:

St. Gueric. The place, which is near Leskeard, was anciently called Ham-Stoke, afterwards on St. Neot's burial there, Neot-Stoke. It is the modern St. Neot's.—CAMBDEN. GORHAM'S *Eynesbury and St. Neot's*, 29.

Page 157, to note ¹, *add*,

Mabillon infers from circumstantial evidence, that Alfred's friend was not Erigena, as Malmesbury and other ancient authors considered, but John of Corbie. Anxiety to extenuate evidence against transubstantiation, probably, led him into this opinion: which is opposed, among other things, by Asser's description of Alfred's John, as *acerrimi ingenii virum, et in omnibus disciplinis literatoriæ artis eruditissimum*. No account would better suit Erigena.—See MOSHEIM. ii. 213, new ed.

Page 163,

Insert between, possessed of a certain property, *and* admitted among the royal officers,—“provided with the usual appendages of wealth.” To explain this addition, the following should be substituted for the last sentence in the note, p. 164:

The bell-house may denote the hall, which was the place of ordinary diet and entertainment in the houses of lords. It may well so signify, if the Saxons used the like reason in imposing the name on the lord's hall, as some say, the Italians, Spanish, and French have done, in calling it *Tinello*, *Tinelo*, and *Tinel*; which in our laws also is retained in *Tinel le Roy*, for the *King's Hall*.—(SPELMAN. *Titles of Honour*. Lond. 1631, p. 623.) *Tinel*. C'est le lieu où les domestiques des grands seigneurs mangent.—(MENAGE, *in voc.*) The word seems to have come from the *tingling*, or sound of the bell used in announcing meals. The *seat*, or *burh-geat-setl*, as the Saxon has it, Selden considers to mean, a judicial seat, or court for the tenants.

Page 167,

Insert in note ², *after* B. 13. f. 60,

This life appears to have been written by Bridferth, a monk of Ramsey, eminent for mathematical knowledge. It has been printed by Mabillon, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, from a foreign MS., containing a preface which the Cotton MS. wants, but not offering so good a text.—WRIGHT'S *Biog. Brit. Lit.* 443.

Page 169,

Fleury on the Loire, above Orleans, had become, by Odo's efforts, in 930, the main seat and seminary of Benedictine discipline¹.

¹ MABILLON. *Annall. Bened.* iii. 400.

Page 196, *add* to note ²,

The notion that *Oswald's Law* means properly a law for ejecting married clergymen from cathedral chapters, though *ancient*, according to Wharton, and certainly common among scholars, appears to be erroneous. "It must be observed, that in ancient writings, it is not *Oswaldes laga*, but *law*, which signifies a *knap* or *little hill*, and Edgar's charter gives that name to the place where Oswald's Hundred court was to be kept."—(GIBSON'S *Additions to CAMBDEN.* i. 625.) The charter, though approving Oswald's proceedings, is really the grant of a hundred, but it does not name any *law* or *low*, upon which the court was to be kept. Still there is every reason to derive its name from such a spot. Bishop Gibson remarks further, that Oswald's-law-hundred, in Worcestershire, "is not one continued tract of ground, but consists of townships scattered in all parts of the county, where the bishop or monastery of Worcester had lands at the time when King Edgar granted that charter to Oswald." (629.)

Page 205,

For, No literary remains bearing Dunstan's name are extant, *read*, Extant literary remains bearing Dunstan's name are monastic rules, and a body of penitential canons.

Page 220, in note ²,

For Sigeric, *read* Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury.

Page 221, in note ¹,

After article masculine, *insert* Florence of Worcester calls Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, Ælfsius.

Page 238, before the last paragraph, *insert*:

Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Lit.* 480,) has followed Mores in considering the great Elfric identical with his namesake, the archbishop of Canterbury. He thus, accordingly, sketches a history for him.

His father was earl of Kent. After a preliminary education under a secular priest, he studied under Ethelwold at Abingdon, about 960, and probably went with him from that place to Winchester. In 969, he was made abbot of St. Alban's, but Matthew Paris, it is confessed, gives an account of Abbot Elfric, quite inconsistent with every thing known of his great namesake. Hence it is conjectured, that he really might have remained at Winchester, until 988, or 989, when Elphege sent him to regulate Cerne Abbey, and when he calls himself merely monk and mass-priest. He is then thought to have filled the see of Wilton, but the only known vacancy is that caused by Sigeric's translation to Canterbury, in 989. Now Elfric sent a volume of homilies to Sigeric, and simply styles himself *monk* in the dedication to it. This difficulty is met by a reference to Florence of Worcester, who mentions a bishop of Wilton, named Alfstan, in 992. It is thence concluded that Elfric did not immediately succeed Sigeric, at Wilton, but some other prelate, whom existing records scarcely notice, and that, in fact, he held the see of Wilton only during a very time before Sigeric's death. On that event, he succeeded him at Canterbury, but is called, in the instrument of his election, only a monk of Abingdon. He died Nov. 16, 1006. His Latin Grammar, which gained him the title of *Grammaticus*, is considered to have been written at Winchester, as also the *Glossary* of Latin words most used in conversation, and the *Colloquium*, or conversation in Latin, with an interlinear Saxon gloss. While at Cerne, he is known to have written the two sets of homilies, and it is considered that he also wrote there the translation of the *Heptateuch*, the Treatise on the Old and New Testaments, both printed, together with a *Treatise on the Trinity*, and an *Abridgement of Ethelwold's Constitutions for the Monks of Eynesham*, still only in MS. While bishop of Wilton, he is considered to have written the epistle to Wulfine, generally styled in collections, *Ælfric's Canons*, and another discourse to the clergy. To Elfric Bata are assigned the *Epistle to Wulfstan*, and the *Life of Ethelwold*. But it is admitted that he followed very closely the steps of his master, the great Elfric. The necessity for this admission seems very much to weaken a presumption that the works were produced by two parties instead of one party. The epistles to Wulfine and Wulfstan have, indeed, every appearance of the same pen. Yet the latter could not have been written by Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury. Nor does it seem at all probable, that Elfric, the homilist, ever was bishop of Wilton, as he must have been, if he be identical with the archbishop of Canterbury. The supposition of some very brief, unnoticed possession of the see of Wilton, which is necessary for this

hypothesis, can scarcely be thought satisfactory. Mr. Wright cites Godwin, for Elfric, archbishop of York's patronage, of the secular canons. The great Elfric's works are strongly favourable to the monastic party. But Godwin merely transcribes a brief, and highly unfavourable account of the York Elfric, from William of Malmesbury, and accounts for it by detailing various benefactions of that prelate to foundations for secular canons, while nothing is recorded of his benefactions to monks. Malmesbury's very short and hostile mention of Elfric may, however, be accounted-for quite as probably, by his own eagerness to maintain transubstantiation, and Elfric's ruinous operation upon a belief in it. As for the archbishop's patronage of the seculars, it might be only the tardy justice of an elderly man to some bodies of clergy whom he could not dislodge, and whom he saw in far more favourable colours than the zeal of earlier days had allowed. Upon the whole, therefore, the view of Elfric's history taken in the text of this work may be as probable as any that has yet appeared. Beyond probability nothing is claimed for it. This great man's history still remains a problem that no known means of inquiry can certainly solve. Respecting his name, which is one objection to his identification with the abbot of Peterborough, it may be worth while with adepts in northern philology to consider, whether the final syllable *ric*, is not equivalent to *sige*. Both, probably, may mean *lord*, or *chieftain*. If so, the great Elfric might occasionally have been called *Ælfsige* by contemporaries. Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, is actually named *Ælfsius*, by Florence of Worcester. (Francof. 1601, p. 198.) The former syllable is written *Alf*, by Mr. Wright, and others. Nor can any objection be made to this, the Saxon *Æ* being written *A*, in the case of King Alfred, as well as often besides. But in other cases, the Saxon diphthong is written *E*, and this appears more conformable to the Latin usage, and to our general pronunciation. We say *Cesar*, and not *Casar*.

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, (Jan. 1838, p. 304, No. CXXXIV.,) disjoins the great Elfric, from his namesake of York, chiefly because the latter is called by Malmesbury and others, *præpositus Wintoniensis*, which is considered as meaning that he was *prior of Winchester*, the bishop being really the abbot. In most cases this translation would be quite satisfactory, and would sufficiently identify the party. But in the very brief and confused accounts connected with the great name of Elfric, such language, in the face of much inconsistent matter, cannot be esteemed conclusive. The homilist and epistolary writer was undoubtedly a monastic superior, and educated at Winchester. From these facts alone the designation may have been bestowed.

Page 244, the following paragraph and note have been added:

Although the Anglo-Saxons ever viewed Rome with filial deference, their definitions of the Church do not harmonise with those which controversial necessities eventually extorted from papal divines. Their simple and unexceptionable treatment of this question differs, in fact, little or nothing substantially, from that which appears in the Thirty-nine Articles¹. Thus in this, as in many other instances, the religious antiquities of England bear a gratifying testimony to the soundness of the discretion that guided her Reformation.

¹ "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."—(Art. XIX.) Upon St. Matth. xi. 12, a Saxon homily says, *Godes rice is gecweden on thisre stowe, seo halige gelathung, thæt is, eall Cristen folc.*—(In Nativ. Scī Joh. Bapt. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 24. f. 29.) *God's kingdom is called in this place, the holy congregation, that is, all Christian folk.* In another homily, we find, *Leofan men, we gelyfath thæt halig gelathung sy ealra Cristena manna to anum rihtan geleafan.*—(De Fide. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 99. f. 13.) *Beloved men, we believe the holy congregation to be the body of Christian men with one right faith.*

Page 286, note ²,

For Bury, read Bures, St. Mary's, in Suffolk. Asser calls the place *Burua*, which many writers, both ancient and modern, have taken for *Bury*; but Battely has shown it to be the place upon the Stour mentioned above.—*Antiquitt. S. Edm. Burg.* p. 15.

THE END.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
CHURCH AND CLERGY OF ENGLAND
FROM THE
MISREPRESENTATIONS
OF THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW.

BY
A BENEFICED CLERGYMAN.

London :
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ADVERTISEMENT.

AFTER the following pages had been in a great measure written, the Author met with two pamphlets upon the same subject. These were "a Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq. the reputed Editor of the Edinburgh Review, by the Rev. H. Phillpotts, D.D. Rector of Stanhope," and "a Defence of the Established Church, by Alma Lux." As the former of these refers to the Durham case, and the latter to the two distinguished prelates who have been so unceremoniously attacked by the Reviewer ; the necessity for the observations which are here offered to the public, did not appear to be superseded. The pamphlet by Dr. Phillpotts, has however been of some service in substantiating statements which were necessary to be made, as will be seen by the notes. From them also will appear, the use that has been made of an excellent pamphlet, entitled, "the Rights of the English Clergy asserted, and the probable

Amount of their Incomes estimated, by Augustus Campbell, A. M. Rector of Wallasey, in the county of Chester:" to which those are recommended to refer, who either imagine the revenues of the Church to be unreasonably large, or who desire an alteration in the mode by which they are chiefly raised.

A

VINDICATION,

&c. &c.

THE illiberality with which the Church and Clergy of England have been usually treated in the Edinburgh Review, is well known. As, however, early prejudice and limited information, may be reasonably expected to render the critics of the Northern Metropolis, incompetent judges of the religious system established in the Southern division of the island; their observations upon this subject have usually attracted but little notice. Perhaps, a desire to emerge from this insignificance, and a disposition to try how far the credulity of one nation may be abused, and the institutions of the other misrepresented, by hazarding a series of remarks and assertions at once injurious and unfounded; have at length driven them to the experiment, which has rendered their number, published in last November, a general subject of conversation. Silence, under the obloquy, with which, the Edinburgh Reviewers have endeavoured to load the religious establishment of Eng-

land, would no longer be deemed an act of judicious forbearance, in the Clergy : it would rather be interpreted by many persons, as a proof that they are obliged to admit the truth of charges which have been so boldly preferred. To shew the injustice of the treatment which our ecclesiastical system has received, is not, however, a matter of difficulty, with any person competently informed upon the subject. Still, it is likely, from the low estimation in which the clerical body of England, naturally hold a publication so devoted to their enemies, that these virulent attacks may escape the notice of individuals best qualified to repel them. An obscure Clergyman may, therefore, be excused, in attempting to prevent his profession from lying under an unreasonable prejudice, and to convince his Northern neighbours that the attachment which the English have ever manifested to their venerable Church and her Ministers, is worthy of a generous and enlightened nation.

The articles in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, of which the friends and ministers of the Church established in England, have to complain, are, in number, no less than three. Of these, the first and longest, is headed “*Durham Case—Clerical Abuses.*” It is suggested by a publication detailing the legal proceedings instituted against Mr. John Ambrose Williams, a printer at Durham, for a Libel upon the Clergy of that city. The second article, is upon the Bishop of Peterborough’s Ques-

tions : the third, upon the Charge recently published by the Bishop of London. To each of these heads is appended a disquisition ; and the three together, give occasion for a lengthened attack upon the Church and Clergy of England, such as seldom makes its appearance in publications of a reputable character. It is, however, the first article that chiefly fixes the reader's attention, from the number of its charges and assertions. The other two, are little more than personal attacks upon two eminent individuals, whose high qualifications are so universally recognised, that their actions need no defence, and the arts of detraction assail their characters in vain.

It is therefore necessary to remark, upon the first article alone. The observations suggested by it, are introduced by an expression of belief, that by the prosecution of the Durham printer, " the best friends of the English Hierarchy were filled with wonder, when they saw some of its most vulnerable parts exposed to the rude conflict of forensic and popular warfare *." Why the Reviewer should

* The whole passage runs thus : " The best friends of the English Hierarchy, we believe, were filled with wonder when they saw some of its most vulnerable parts exposed to the rude conflict of forensic and popular warfare, without the least necessity ; and those who, from whatever motive, whether with religious or with party views, seek to weaken the influence of the Establishment, could not but regard with extreme satisfaction a controversy, out of which it must inevitably retreat with

trouble his readers with a statement of his belief upon this subject, is not very evident ; since it cannot be doubted that positive information, he can have none whatever. Had many of “ the best friends

diminished credit. The times, indeed, seemed eminently inauspicious for such an experiment, as the movers of this prosecution were venturous enough to embark in. The conduct of the dignified Clergy must not, it seems, be made the subject of any comment ; they claim an exemption from that jurisdiction which the public opinion has, for near a century and a half, exercised over all other bodies of men in this country ; they are resolved to do as they please, and to answer all unpleasant observations by the compendious logic of the Crown-office. We dare not, therefore, expose our London publishers to risk, by assigning any reasons for the fact, which is however indisputable, and may still, we would fain hope, be stated historically, that, of late years, the higher classes of the Church have not been held in perfect affection and veneration by the people at large among our southern neighbours ; that pluralities and non-residence, and unequal distribution of wealth, leaving the working parish priest oftentimes to starve, while the sinecurist of the Cathedral revels in all the enjoyment of rank and fortune, have no longer the same supporters among the lay parts of the community, which they used to find in less inquiring periods ; that the whole amount of the ecclesiastical revenues, as well as the vexatious methods of raising the principal branch of them, are now severely felt by those whom the difficulties of the times have well nigh overwhelmed ; and that the unhappy propensity to meddle in political matters, which the Church dignitaries have displayed, always shewing their zeal upon the unpopular side, and never more remarkably than during the proceedings relating to the Queen, have still further increased the alienation of the people from the chiefs of the Establishment.” *Edinb. Rev.* p. 351.

of the English Hierarchy" been known to him, it would be uncharitable to suppose, that an acquaintance with such honourable and liberal-minded men, could have failed to correct that bitter feeling of hostility towards the Church of England, which he has discovered. Nor if the Chapter of Durham be intended, when the Reviewer mentions "the most vulnerable parts of the Hierarchy," can any expression be more unfortunate. Of the liberality and discernment with which the venerable Bishop of Durham has, during so long a period, administered his extensive and important patronage, few persons of information are unaware. The consequence has been, that the Chapter of his cathedral, and the Clergy of his County Palatine, comprise among their number some of the best scholars and divines of the age. It is not a little satisfactory to be informed by an acrimonious adversary, that this truly respectable body of men, forms one of the "*most vulnerable*" parts of the English Church Establishment. How this justly distinguished Chapter was to "retreat with diminished credit from a controversy," instituted to clear its character from an injurious aspersion, must be left to the critic to explain. The fact is, that the Libel of which Mr. Williams was found guilty, plainly insinuates that the silence of the bells at Durham, on the occasion of the late Queen's death, resulted from "the brutal enmity*" of the Clergy

* "In this episcopal city, containing six churches, independently of the Cathedral, not a single bell announced the depar-

in that city. The Edinburgh Reviewer is not contented with the more guarded insinuation of his Durham friend. He omits to cite his words, and roundly asserts for him, that the Clergy "*forbade* the bells to toll *." This ingenious fiction affords an opportunity for favouring the public with a new version of the Libel, which occasioned the prosecution; to this it is unnecessary to advert, because the orders complained of never were given. It does indeed appear to be true, that the bells at Durham were not tolled when the news of the late Queen's death reached that city; but it is equally true, that a decease in the Royal Family had not usually been so announced to the citizens †. When, therefore, an adherence to immemorial custom, was represented as a proof that the clerical body nurtured a factious spirit unworthy of their calling, it is no wonder that their venerable diocesan should have desired a public vindication of their character from so injurious a calumny. He did accordingly direct a

ture of the magnanimous spirit of the most injured of Queens—the most persecuted of women. Thus the *brutal enmity* of those who embittered her mortal existence, pursues her in her shroud." Libel, published in a "Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq." by Dr. Phillpotts, p. 30. It should be added, that the subsequent passages of the libel, leave no doubt that the writer meant distinctly to charge the Durham Clergy, with the omission of which he complains.

* Edinb. Rev. p. 357.

† Affidavit of Dr. Phillpotts, printed in his letter to Mr. Jeffrey. P. 17.

prosecution to be instituted against Mr. Williams *, and has thus furnished a pretext for the attack upon the Church of England, which makes so prominent a figure in the last number of the Edinburgh Review. Nor is it an inconsiderable proof of the sound discretion which directed this prosecution, that although the printer's cause was popular, and the zeal of his advocate very far from lukewarm ; a verdict of guilty, was returned by the jury. A very mortifying result this, no doubt, to follow from the " terrible † " harangue with which, we are told, Mr. Brougham favoured the court. However, that learned gentleman has determined that the public should not lose the benefit of his eloquence ‡, although his unfortunate client has but little reason to admire it. He has accordingly printed his speech, to the great gratification of his friends at Edinburgh, and really, from the specimen of it, published in the Review, it does seem to be every way worthy of their approbation.

* " The Bishop of the Diocese was the prosecutor. In truth, the libelled Clergy knew nothing of the prosecution, till they were informed of it through the public prints." Phillpotts, p. 16.

† " Its general strain and character may be compendiously described by the single word, *terrible*. It is terrible in its irony—terrible in its invective—and terrible in its history and its predictions." Edinb. Rev. p. 358.

‡ " The report of Mr. Brougham's speech bears the marks of having been, in great part at least, carefully revised." Edinb. Rev. p. 358.

Among the discoveries which the Reviewer announces, certainly one very little to be expected, is, that “the dignified Clergy claim an exemption from that jurisdiction which the public opinion has, for near a century and a half, exercised over all other bodies of men in this country.” As no proof of this assertion is brought forward, it can only be met by an assurance that the humbler members of the clerical body have not, before, been made acquainted with this claim of their superiors. Nor would they readily believe, that in these days, any body of men, especially men of conspicuous station, can have the folly to suppose that their conduct will escape the notice and animadversion of their contemporaries. Distinguished characters must know, that, with them, publicity is inevitable; and if they are wise, they will take care to disarm the severity of observation, by a correct and honourable demeanour. The possession of this defence, against the evils, which without it, would result from public observation, may be safely attributed to the existing dignitaries of the English Church. If any man will take the trouble to make a candid enquiry into the conduct and qualifications of these eminent persons, he will find that most of them, by the influence of their virtues and learning, have risen from humble or moderate circumstances; and that, perhaps, there is not an individual among them, whose character and acquirements are not highly respectable. Such men may answer “all unpleasant observations,” by

a confident appeal to the estimation in which they are held by persons of candour and competent information. Nor if the violence of their enemies do occasionally compel them to use "the compendious logic of the Crown-Office," to repress the boldness of personal calumny, do they need, in ordinary cases, any other mode of answering the objections of uninformed persons, than a plain statement of incontrovertible facts.

This mode will also generally be found sufficient to impress candid and honourable minds with a conviction, that perhaps all those usages in the Church of England which are confidently denounced as gross abuses, are in most cases, perfectly reasonable, and in some wholly unavoidable. This may be safely said of pluralities, which many persons hastily consider to be utterly indefensible. Nor indeed would they admit of any justification, were all the parishes in England so large as those in the North commonly are, and all the livings possessed of that ample endowment which is appended to a few among them. But it is difficult to conceive a greater diversity than that which the English Church establishment exhibits in both these respects. The parish of Halifax in Yorkshire *, is probably larger than the whole

* "This parish has been often compared to Rutlandshire for size, but perhaps is the larger place, if Mr. Wright in his description of that county, has reckoned by statute miles, when, at p. 1. he says, 'its dimensions are not above some twelve miles over in any place; for the length of this parish in the di-

county of Rutland, which is stated to contain fifty-three parishes *. This parish is perhaps the largest in England, but there are others contiguous to it, and in different parts of the northern counties, which bear the appearance of districts, to an eye accustomed to the generally contracted ecclesiastical allotments of the south. The extensive and thickly peopled county of Lancaster, does not contain ninety parishes †, while Lincolnshire, which is little more than one third larger, contains six hundred and sixty ‡: Norfolk, with a smaller extent, contains seven hundred and fifty-six §. These two last mentioned counties exhibit the extreme point to which the parochial subdivision of England has been carried: but the eastern and southern districts of the kingdom in general, abound in parishes; so that if a person accustomed only to the spacious ecclesiastical divisions of the north, were to reason upon the supposition, that the generality of those in the south

rection of south-east and north-west will be nearly twenty statute miles—in the direction of east and west, about seventeen miles—in the direction of north-east and south-west, about fourteen miles: the breadth of it, from north to south, is about ten or eleven miles in one direction; at another point, eleven or twelve miles.” Watson’s Hist. Halifax, p. 1.

* Rees’s Cyclopædia, where the county is said to be eighteen miles in length and fifteen in breadth.

† Rees.

‡ Campbell’s Rights of the English Clergy, p. 42. Camden, as quoted by Rees, says that there are six hundred and thirty parishes in Lincolnshire.

§ Rees.

nearly approached them in extent, he would not fail to fall into very considerable errors. From these small parishes, it is evident that very small emoluments must arise to the incumbent * ; nor is he always better provided for where his parish is large, and his cure laborious ; as in such cases, the tythes are commonly vested in lay hands. From these incontrovertible statements, it must appear to every candid and liberal mind, that rigidly to confine the Clergy to a single church, would be an act of extreme hardship and injustice. In some cases indeed, if it were so, the church must remain wholly unserved, from the utter inadequacy of the endowment to maintain a minister. In fact, the incomes derived from a large proportion of English benefices are so confined, that few persons, thoroughly informed upon the subject, would refuse to a Clergyman the liberty of serving two churches, unless such a licence were likely to prove more injurious to the interests of the parishioners than need be apprehended where the cures are small, and the parishes within a short distance of each other †. Cases, undoubtedly, are often

* “ The average value of six hundred and sixty livings in the county of Lincoln, was stated in 1799, at only 70*l.* per annum.” Campbell’s Rights of the Clergy, p. 42.

† The writer of this holds two rectories, within three miles of each other, which he serves in person. The united population of these two parishes amounted, at the last census, to 286 : their area comprises something less than 1500 acres ; and

known, in which an incumbent holds two benefices, so widely apart, that each of them cannot receive constantly, the benefit of his personal attentions. But under such circumstances, he sometimes divides his residence between his two preferments ; or at all events, provides a competent substitute. It need not indeed be denied, that when this constant absence of an incumbent from his cure occurs, it is to some extent, an evil ; but, as the emoluments of the clerical profession are usually very moderate *, it would be unreasonable wholly to forbid a practice which may often confer upon a meritorious individual an important pecuniary benefit, and which, from the difficulty of obtaining preferment, must be of comparatively rare occurrence.

Nor is the non-residence of the Clergy, either so usual or so inexcusable, as it is sometimes represented to be. It is obviously unreasonable, probably it may also be impracticable, to oblige a Minister to live among his parishioners, unless he be provided with a respectable dwelling and a decent

within the distance of a mile and a half from each of the churches, are three other churches. It will hardly be contended that, from two parishes so limited in size, any unreasonable emolument can accrue to the Minister, or that the duties of his station must necessarily be imperfectly performed, because he is not restricted to a single cure.

* If the English livings were all equalized in value, the income of each, according to the calculation of Dr. Cove, would be only 255*l.* per annum. See Campbell.

maintenance *. And it does not often occur, that parishes which supply these requisites, are deserted by their Pastor. But, unfortunately, the same reason which obliges the Church of England to permit Pluralities among her Clergy, obliges her also sometimes to excuse them from residing upon their cures. Many livings supply no residence whatever to the incumbent, and many, nothing more than a cottage, fit for the accommodation of a labourer's family, and actually in the occupation of such a person ; while the scanty income of the incumbent affords no prospect of a remedy for this evil, or indeed would allow him to occupy a house suited to his station, even if it were provided for him. Nor should it be forgotten, that there are parishes in England so small and sequestered, as not to give an opportunity to the Minister of even hiring an apart-

* Upon this subject an excellent authority is supplied by a former number of the Edinburgh Review. Perhaps the present critic has forgotten it ; but as it is very creditable to his publication, he will not be sorry to be reminded of it.

“ Sir William Scott has made it very clear, by his excellent speech, that it is not possible, in the present state of the revenues of the English Church, to apply a radical cure to the evils of non-residence. It is there stated, that of 11,700 livings, there are 6000 under 80*l.* per annum, many of these 20*l.*, 30*l.*, or even 2*l.* or 3*l.* per annum ; *in such a state of endowment all idea of rigid residence is out of the question*: emoluments which a footman would spurn, can hardly be recommended to a scholar and a gentleman.” Edinb. Rev. Vol. II. p. 204.

ment within them. Indiscriminate censures upon the non-residence of the Clergy can, therefore, never proceed from those who are competently informed upon the subject. Provide a reputable abode, and a comfortable subsistence for the Minister of every parish, and very few of the clerical order would be found unwilling to live in the midst of their congregations.

Excusable, and indeed necessary, as pluralities and non-residence are rendered, by the scanty endowments attached to so large a proportion of English ecclesiastical preferments; it may, perhaps, be thought that the minute parochial subdivision which prevails in some parts of the kingdom, is rather injurious to the interests of religion. A sufficient acquaintance with such districts will, however, lead to a different conclusion. They are generally characterised by containing an inconsiderable number of Dissenters, and by that decent deportment of the common people which can hardly fail to distinguish them, when the actions of every individual of their class are known to be constantly under the eye of his Pastor. Hence all friends of the Established Religion, and indeed of sound morality, must rejoice, when they see a country so amply provided with churches, that every inhabitant of it is certain to find accommodation for the performance of his devotions, within a very short distance of his own threshold.

But notwithstanding that the Church of England does not possess the means of providing for all her Ministers an adequate remuneration, it is a gratifying fact, that, "the working parish priest" is rarely seen "to starve." The respectability of the clerical profession allures into it many persons of small fortune. The reputation, for learning and moral worth, which the English divines have ever enjoyed among their countrymen, has consigned to them, almost exclusively, the education of the higher ranks in society, and, in a great measure, that of the middling classes. From these causes, a Clergyman's family, though usually in moderate circumstances, is but seldom reduced to indigence. Whether the head of it be beneficed or not, it is most commonly enabled to maintain a respectable station in society.

False, however, in its insinuation, coarse in its expression, as is the Reviewer's representation of the circumstances in which the inferior Clergy are placed, it at least answers the end of forming an invidious contrast with the condition of their more successful brethren. "The sinecurist of the cathedral," we are told, "revels in all the enjoyments of rank and fortune." The persons thus designated are, most probably, that class of Clergymen known by the name of dignitaries, and which consists of deans, and canons or prebendaries, called to attend their cathedral during a portion of every year. The number of these individuals in England does not exceed two hundred and

fifty *. Now if a profession, comprising at least twelve thousand persons, did provide an easy and honourable retreat for two hundred and fifty members out of so large a body, few men of liberal sentiments would probably find fault. But the Church of England offers no such prospect of dignified retirement to her Ministers. These cathedral sinecures, as they are improperly called, do not usually produce more than a few hundreds a year, rarely a thousand, and are held, in most cases, by parochial Ministers, who reside, the greatest part of the year, upon their cures. Thus these dignities are, in fact, nothing more than augmentations of an ordinary benefice, which they will be seldom found to encrease to such an extent as to enable their possessor to “revel in all the enjoyments of rank and fortune.” If they allow him to maintain an equality with some of the more successful members of the lay professions, it is all that he can expect from them.

In what manner the amount of income enjoyed by these dignitaries can be “severely felt by those whom the difficulties of the times have well nigh

* This will exclude the prebendaries not called to residence, who are not properly termed dignitaries, and could hardly have been in the contemplation of the Reviewer. Indeed their existence, perhaps, is scarcely known to persons acquainted superficially with the Church; and their emoluments, in most cases, are so trifling, that such a preferment is commonly considered chiefly in the light of an honorary distinction. The same may be said of the archdeaconries, which, though not sinecures, are seldom of much value.

overwhelmed," is not very easy to understand, since their emoluments arise either from lands or tythes let upon lease, and it is difficult to imagine that a Clergyman's tenant would feel the pressure of the times more than a layman's. Nor are "the methods of raising the principal branch of the ecclesiastical revenues" quite so "vexatious" as the Reviewer insinuates. It is, indeed, true, that pecuniary transactions do commonly beget irritation in the parties affected by them, and therefore the subject of tythes, like that of every other payment, is occasionally productive of a misunderstanding between the Pastor and the parishioner. But as the latter is seldom aggrieved by the amount of an ecclesiastic's claim, his anger, on such a subject, is commonly of short duration. It is certainly to be regretted that a Clergyman should be compelled to enter into discussions alien from his habits and pursuits, but it is not easy to discover how this inconvenience can be avoided, unless by abandoning the equitable principle of exacting a payment for his services, from those who derive the benefit of them. The truth is, that a determined opposition to the tythe system exists almost exclusively among bigoted Dissenters and revolutionary politicians; with occasionally the accession of a man whose temper is bad, and whose habits are avaricious. Happily such characters are rare among the honest yeomanry of England; and if a stranger should visit our country churches, he will see no reason to conclude, from

the absence of the parishioners, that discontents, arising from tythes, have assumed any very serious character. Interspersed, indeed, as this kingdom is, in all its parts, with portions of land tythe-free, a farmer must be strangely unobservant who should not be aware that if he have not to satisfy the claims of a Rector, his landlord will prevent him from being benefited by the exemption. Thus, even if justice and policy would allow of an interference with the long-established system of tything, the adoption of such a measure might shake the security of all property without giving any relief to the farmer; while in most cases a portion of the rent arising from the land, which is now wisely reserved to be spent in the parish, and for the benefit of its inhabitants, would be carried to a distance, and consumed upon objects in which the people who paid it have no interest whatever. To this consideration should be added, that it would be grossly iniquitous to deprive an useful body of men of those freehold estates which the usages and enactments of so many ages have confirmed to them. So long as the conditions are duly performed, upon which these properties were originally vested in the Clergy, they ought to be as securely guarded from spoliation, as the tythes of the impropiator, the estate of the landlord, the stock of the fundholder, or the capital of the tradesman.

Of the abuses in which the inferior Clergy are supposed to participate, or by which they are un-

derstood to suffer, the manner of raising their incomes appears to be the last mentioned by the Reviewer. Indeed much more could hardly be said of the mode in which the Church is governed and provided for. The attack upon her discipline, does not, however, content the critic. After an interval spent in discussing other matters, he proceeds to comment upon her doctrines and ritual. This is what few persons would expect to read in a journal remarkable for its abstinence from theological subjects; but the Reviewer's zeal upon this occasion was not to be confined within ordinary bounds. He was determined to expose us in every possible way, and what might one suppose to be the first flaw that he has discovered in our creed? Why, courteous reader, he has detected in our Catechism, a disposition to teach Transubstantiation*! To establish this unexpected charge no particular citation is made, and the only conceivable ground of it, is the answer explaining what is "*the inward part, or thing signified,*" in the Lord's Supper. This, we are taught, is "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received *by the faithful* in the Lord's Supper." Among what de-

* "Much controversy is known to exist respecting the degree in which Transubstantiation itself is rejected by the Catechism of the Church. Certain it is, that the tenor of it would be far enough from leading any one to expect the distinct and unequivocal repudiation of the real presence, which we find in the Thirty-Nine Articles, and which forms so prominent a part of the Tests against Popery." Edinb. Rev. p. 361.

scription of reasonable beings, it may be asked, will this answer allow any "controversy to exist, respecting the degree in which Transubstantiation is rejected, by the Catechism of the Church?" Are not the previous enquiry for "the *inward part*, or thing *signified*," and the limitation expressed in the answer perfectly conclusive, to shew that the framers of the Catechism viewed the sacramental elements as types of a spiritual benefit, to be conferred on those alone whose faith had prepared them to receive it? It is not pretended that the smallest countenance is given to the doctrine of Transubstantiation in any other document of the Anglican Church: on the contrary, it is admitted to be "distinctly and unequivocally repudiated" in the Articles*. Nor,

* "To such as *rightly, worthily, and with faith*, receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ. Transubstantiation, (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine,) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions. The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after a heavenly and *spiritual* manner, and the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith." Art. xxviii. The earlier Reformers, in the time of King Edward, rejected Transubstantiation still more fully than in this Article, as it was finally settled in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But hear the *real* teachers of this doctrine: "Profiteor—in sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento esse, vere, realiter, et substantialiter,

it must be added, would persons in general be sufficiently acute to detect any leaning towards it in the Catechism. So well known, indeed, is the judgment of our Church, upon this subject, that to consume any time upon it must appear not only unnecessary, but even rather ridiculous.

After surprising his readers with a discovery of the lurking propensity of our national Church towards Transubstantiation, the critic gathers fresh courage in his theological vocation, and proceeds boldly to the charge, in an attack upon the Absolution* sometimes used by the Clergy. To check his anticipations of a triumph it may, however, be

corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima, et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fierique conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiationem appellat." *Professio Fid. Cath. secundum Concil. Trident. in Sylloge Confessionum.* Oxon. 1804. Here are no restrictions to "the faithful," no mention of "a spiritual manner," but the change of the elements is roundly asserted to take place, without any qualification whatever.

* "The power of giving Absolution seems to be, in very distinct terms, assumed, not perhaps in the daily service, in which the priest only declares that God absolves, but certainly in the more solemn ceremonial for the visitation of the sick, in which the priest, with respect to the individual person, after having received from him a special confession of his sins, says, 'By the authority of Christ committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" *Edinb. Rev.* p. 362.

useful to remind him, that all the benefits of our religion are attached to the *faithful alone*. Nor is it very probable that any Clergyman would be found to pronounce this absolution to a sick penitent, until after he had first duly explained to him that his acceptance with God depends entirely upon the earnestness of his own repentance, and the steadfastness of his faith. In such cases as allow the Minister to feel assured that the sick man's state of mind is that which God requires, he can be guilty of neither error nor presumption in promising that pardon which Scripture guarantees. In these days this absolution is, indeed, less necessary than it was at the time of the Reformation. At that period it had been usual with men to make a particular confession of their sins, and receive the absolution of a priest while they lay upon their death-bed, and many persons, therefore, might have felt the absence of an important consolation at the hour of their departure, if the attendant Minister had refused to allay their last apprehensions, by the customary assurance of pardon. Nor is it to be forgotten, that, during the century which succeeded the Reformation, ecclesiastical censures for omissions in the duties of religion and morality, were usually inflicted. Now, if the hand of death should have stricken any man labouring under the displeasure of the Church, for an offence, which, at such a period, he could not contemplate without dismay, no

relief could be more grateful to his wounded conscience, than the assurance, from an authorized Minister, that although the time might not suffice for a formal reconciliation with the Church, yet the power was committed to him to pronounce an absolution from her censures to the truly penitent. It appears evidently, from the Rubric, that our Reformers intended this absolution to be used only in particular cases, as they introduce it by these remarkable words: “Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, *if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter.* After which confession the Priest shall absolve him, *(if he humbly and heartily desire it)* after this sort.” From these words it is plain that this absolution was never meant to be indiscriminately used, but was charitably provided by the Church, for cases in which the Priest, after due examination, was convinced of its expediency and necessity. Such cases are now, probably, of rare occurrence; but, whenever they arise, the English Clergy ought not to be charged with presumption, because they discreetly exercise a privilege which the Christian priesthood has claimed during all the periods of its existence.

With his attack upon the absolution inserted for occasional use in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, the Reviewer’s objections to the doctrine of our national Church are concluded. But he has not done even with our spiritual affairs. He pro-

ceeds to criticise our beautiful Liturgy *, that venerable ritual, which, has at length triumphed over nearly all opposition, and which, many of those who decline communion with us are, notwithstanding, glad to adopt in the performance of their own devotions. To this confessedly “fine service” the first objection advanced is, its length. Unreasonable, however, in a high degree, this remark cannot fail of appearing, when it is recollected that Morning Prayers, on a Sunday, may be read with decorum and effect in little more than an hour. Half that time is sufficient for the afternoon service. Now if it were expected of the congregation that they should stand and merely listen to supplications offered up by the Minister, as is the usage among some of our Dissenters, it might be judicious to de-

* “As for the Liturgy, we believe that all rational men, of every persuasion, are pretty well agreed with respect both to its beauties and defects. The eloquence of many parts, the purity of the English every where, cannot be denied. Neither can we refuse it the merit of as great variety as the nature of the subject matter will permit, and of a very skilful distribution of the parts and the pauses, with a view to the command of the hearer’s attention. On the other hand, its warmest advocates have allowed, that the length and the repetitions have an extremely bad effect ; that the selections from the Scriptures are made with little care or skill ; and that the number of the prayers for the Royal Family, and persons of high station, with the heraldic style in which these are couched, cannot be too severely reprobated, as leading either to hypocrisy or profanity.” Edinb. Rev. p. 363.

vote a shorter time to public prayer than that which the Church requires. As, however, "the merit of variety, and of a skilful arrangement," are conceded to our Liturgy, there is no reason why it should occupy an inconsiderable space amidst the hours devoted to religion. Nor will many persons of mature age and serious habits be found to complain, that the appropriation of an hour, or less, to a devotional exercise of universally acknowledged excellence imposes upon them an irksome and unnecessary restraint. If, indeed, "repetitions" formed a prominent feature in this service, it is not to be denied that it might be advantageously curtailed. But although the usage of later times has thrown offices together, which their compilers intended for separate use, yet so various is the matter employed, that even this deviation from their original intention has rarely led to a recurrence of the same ideas or expressions. In the Afternoon Service, which is still used separately, no repetition whatever is found, except in the case of the Lord's Prayer, which is once inserted with the Doxology, and once without it. The Morning Service, according to the modern arrangement, certainly presents to our notice the Collect for the day twice, and the Lord's Prayer four times *. The excellence of these devotional pieces, especially of the latter, will, however, fur-

* Twice in the Morning Prayer, once in the Liturgy, and once in the Communion Service; all the three were intended for separate use.

nish an apology sufficient to satisfy the minds of most men, for their accidental repetition. Our Lord's brief and admirable prayer is indeed introduced in the Liturgy with such singular felicity, that few persons of taste and piety would be found willing to impair the effect of the passages around it, by consenting to its omission.

Upon the subject of "the care and skill" displayed in the "selections from the Scriptures," it is to be observed, that neither the one nor the other has been attempted to be shewn in the second lessons, except on festivals. At other times, it is so arranged, that all parts of the New Testament, but the Apocalypse, are read in daily succession. In two or three instances, it may be allowed, that the first lesson contains matter which probably would not have been selected for public reading in the present age. But the very rare occurrence of these cases, and the necessity for dispensing Scriptural instruction of every kind from the desk, in an age which did not abound with persons competent to acquire it by reading their own Bibles at home, may well excuse what little may be thought, by the fastidious delicacy of modern times, not well adapted for reading to a mixed congregation. That our reformers did not select from Scripture without due deliberation, may be inferred as well from the evident good sense by which nearly all the first lessons will be allowed to have been introduced into the service for the different Sundays, as, from the beautiful and improving portions of the New

Testament, which constitute the Epistles and Gospels.

Equally groundless with former objections to our Liturgy, is that, to “ the number of its prayers for the Royal Family, and persons of high station, with the heraldic style in which these are couched.” The truth is, that on a Sunday morning, the Sovereign is once mentioned without any addition, in the Suffrages before the Collects * ; once prayed for in the Litany under the style of “ our gracious King and Governor † ;” and afterwards, in the Communion Service, is a prayer inserted at once for him and for his subjects, in which the two parties are reminded of their respective duties ‡ . In no other part of the service ordinarily used on a Sunday morning, is the Sovereign mentioned, except Parliament be sitting, in which case that great council of the nation is prayed for as assembled “under our most religious

* “ O Lord, save the King.” Suffrages in the Common Prayer.

† “ That it may please thee to keep and strengthen in true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, thy servant George, our most gracious King and Governor.” Litany.

‡ “ So rule the heart of thy chosen servant George, our King and Governor, that he (knowing whose minister he is,) may above all things seek thy honour and glory; and that we and all his subjects, (duly considering whose authority he hath,) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance.” Communion Service.

and gracious King." Thus it appears, that, notwithstanding the prevailing usage of reading Offices together, which were intended by their compilers to serve for different times of the day, the Sovereign is but sparingly admitted into the devotions of his subjects. Nor does the style in which his name is introduced, much resemble that usually adopted by the College of Heralds. It is respectful and decorous, but it is nothing more. In the same service, it has been usual to pray for the Queen, once, under the title of "our gracious Queen;" when there is an heir-apparent to the Crown, he is mentioned once, with the addition of his title, "Royal Highness;" if he be married, his consort's title is added to his own; while the other members of the reigning house are simply styled, "the Royal Family." It is difficult to conceive greater simplicity and decorum than this, in the public prayers of a nation which recognizes the royal dignity; and hence naturally treats with respect the immediate connections of the throne. Even the ministers of religion who use extemporaneous prayer, occasionally adopt, in their mention of the Sovereign and his nearest relatives, the same courteous expressions that are used for this purpose in the Liturgy of the Established Church.

Any trace of numerous prayers for other "persons of high station," and of heraldic designations attached to their names, will be sought for in vain among the authorised devotional exercises of the English nation. Supplications are indeed offered up

once in the morning service, for “the Lords of the Council, all the Nobility, the Magistrates, the high Court of Parliament, the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.” But the individuals thus introduced to the worshipper’s notice, are merely named, without any honorary distinction whatever, and always with an addition tending to remind such of them as may be present, of their duty. These topics, with the exception, perhaps, of the Nobility, and the substitution of Ministers of the Gospel for the ecclesiastical distinctions of the established Church, are usually admitted into the extemporaneous prayers of English Dissenting Ministers, and most probably also, into those which are delivered in the Scottish Churches: nor would a preacher who should habitually omit them, escape the blame of prostituting the pulpit to the purposes of party politics. And it must be added, that it is not possible to mention the more distinguished members of society in a less ostentatious manner, than that which has been adopted in our Church Service. No one, therefore, impressed with that deference for the “higher powers,” which his religion exacts from a Christian, need be deterred from joining in the devotions of the English Church, from a fear of incurring the disgrace either of “hypocrisy, or of profanity.”

The Reviewer’s observations upon our daily Service being thus plainly convicted of haste and inconsideration, little apprehension need be felt by the friends of the established Religion, when he pro-

ceeds to attack one of the Offices intended for particular occasions. This is the Service for the Fifth of November, to which he attributes the "curious blending" of the feelings entertained by two discordant political parties *. It may, however, be safely asserted of those who compiled and of those who arranged the Ritual of our national Church, that they have taken care to exclude from their work every appearance of encouraging any party feeling whatever. They have contented themselves with inculcating that dutiful submission to "the powers that be," which is so plainly and unreservedly enjoined in the New Testament. Such men, therefore, were not likely to feel any hesitation in directing the thanksgiving for the deliverance which the nation had obtained under King William, to be joined with that for a former deliverance in the time of James the First. At precisely the same season, the Church of England had been twice rescued from a formidable conspiracy against her existence, planned in both cases by persons who were actu-

* "We may add, the contradictions which political violence has frequently introduced; as, in the conjoint Service for the Gunpowder Plot, and King William's Landing, in which Whig and Tory feelings are so curiously blended, that while some of the prayers return thanks for the preservation of our liberties by King William's instrumentality, the Homily against Rebellion is appointed to be read, in order to denounce the whole proceedings by which King William was brought over and raised to the throne." *Edinb. Rev.* pp. 363, 4.

ated by the same principles and by the same objects. As therefore, the cause for gratitude to God was the same in each instance, and the occurrence of the event, identical as to time ; it was very reasonable, that one Service should commemorate the two deliverances. And it is highly desirable, that these signal mercies should still be consecrated in the Ritual of the Church, not merely on account of their intrinsic claim to the gratitude of posterity, but also for the purpose of affording to the clergy an advantageous opportunity of exposing to their congregations a view of the errors and corruptions of the Roman Church, whenever the Fifth of November shall fall upon a Sunday. Protestants ordinarily are little aware of the magnitude of that deliverance which the Reformation effected, and which was confirmed to the English nation by the happy events which render the beginning of November so conspicuous in its history. Since, therefore, this ignorance renders the people liable to be imposed upon, by the representations of the Romish religion, which are made by political partisans ; or, it may be, perverted from their faith by the specious arguments of a popish divine, or by the seductive example of an opulent neighbour ; it is obviously the duty of all Protestant Preachers * to explain occasionally to their

* At Salters' Hall, a well known dissenting meeting in the City of London, it has been usual for this purpose to preach a sermon on the Fifth of November, whatever may be the day of the week on which it falls.

congregations, that the distinguishing doctrines of the Papal Church are all manifest corruptions of genuine Christianity. Nor can an opportunity present itself more proper for dispensing this necessary instruction to the people, than when the Fifth of November falls on a Sunday, and the congregation is reminded, by a particular Service, of the dangerous conspiracies into which fanatics of the Romish persuasion have entered in former times, for the purpose of crushing the spiritual privileges of a Protestant nation. This useful purpose to which a Sunday celebration of the Fifth of November can hardly fail of being turned, by every judicious minister of any reformed church planted in our island ; supersedes the necessity for one of those Homilies against rebellion which the rubrick enjoins to be read, "*if there be no sermon.*" Nor need we wonder that this rubrick is allowed to continue in the Prayer Book, when we consider that those desperate men, of whose guilt we are reminded, on the Fifth of November, were impelled to their atrocious attempt, as well by a fierce and rebellious spirit of opposition to the civil government of their country, as by a fanatical hatred of its religious establishment.

Aware of a disposition on the part of the established Clergy to improve the opportunity presented to them occasionally, by the direction which the thanksgiving for deliverance from the Gunpowder Treason naturally gives to the thoughts of their congregations ; the Reviewer would wish to shew

the unreasonableness of their conduct, by remarking the strong resemblance of the Church of England to that of Rome. Now really, if it were desired to urge upon Protestant Preachers the necessity of occasionally instructing their hearers in the principles of that Church from which they have separated, the case of this North-country Critic would form an excellent illustration of the argument. Here is a member of the Reformed Church* esteemed competent to deliver his sentiments upon theological subjects, in a Review of acknowledged literary eminence, who appears to consider that the religious principles which antiently prevailed in England, and those which succeeded them, are parted from each other by no very striking distinctions†. Had the

* “We, as good Presbyterians.” Edinb. Rev. p. 361.

† “It is more to our present purpose that this fine service, (for such we may call it, when Grotius preferred it to all the rituals of the other churches, and Calvin himself will only charge it with certain *tolerabiles ineptiæ*,) is almost all Romish. The fathers of the Anglican church, who prepared it, were merely compilers, abridgers, and translators; which gave that staunch reformer occasion to marvel, ‘how any persons should be so fond of the leavings of Popish dross.’ (Ep. Calv. ix. 98.) When to all this we add the exorbitant wealth, the political functions and connections of the Church, its pluralities and non-residence, in a degree unknown even to the Romish scheme; the unequal distribution of its endowments, exhibited in the poverty of the labourer, and the luxury of the sinecurist; we shall probably see reason to hold, that its approach towards the Church of Rome is far too close to justify that repugnance with which it regards the parent establishment.” Edinb. Rev. p. 364.

Reviewer met with an excellent work *, written by one of the eminent Prelates, whose names are introduced in the last number of the publication in which he writes, he would have been aware, that the principles of religious belief in the Church of Rome are fundamentally different from those of the English Church, or indeed of any Protestant Church. The Romanist calls in the aid of what he terms the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical Traditions †, to determine and qualify the sense of Scripture, while all the followers of the Reformation, admit Scripture *alone* to be the rule of faith ‡. It was the doctrines and ceremonies which have only *Tradition* for their warrant that our Reformers rejected, and these were in truth, “the Popish dross,” from which the Church

* Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, by Herbert Marsh, D.D. now Bishop of Peterborough.

† Apostolicas et Ecclesiasticas traditiones, reliquasque ejusdem Ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones, firmissime admitto et amplector. Item sacram Scripturam juxta cum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum Scripturarum, admitto, nec eam unquam nisi juxta unanimum consensum Patrum accipiam, et interpretabor.” Profess. Fid. Trident.

‡ “Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of Faith, or to be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation.” Art. 6. The point at issue therefore between the Romanists and the Protestants is briefly this, whether Scripture alone is sufficient to make men wise unto Salvation, or whether Tradition also is requisite to effect this purpose.

of England was purified. There was no need to reject the Ecclesiastical arrangements which the Romanists had derived from the primitive Christians; none, to discard from the Ritual, those parts which were either Scripture or plainly agreeable to its sense. "The fathers of the Anglican Church," accordingly, wisely kept these principles in view throughout their labours, so that they could conscientiously say to the followers of the antient Religion, "we offer no violence to your feelings by needless innovations, we only remove those things from your religious system which our knowledge of God's Word will not allow us to retain." Calvin, it is well known, was not contented to stop at the point which bounded the labours of our English Reformers, and hence he could not be expected to allow them all that credit which a grateful posterity justly attaches to their names. In this case however, "that staunch Reformer," is scarcely to be considered an unprejudiced judge, as, although he had offered his assistance in re-modelling our national Church, it was thought advisable to proceed without him; a mortification which a spirit like his could not patiently endure.

After his general attack upon the Doctrines and Ritual of the English Church has been concluded by comparing it in these respects with the more antient religious system, we are informed, that in point of discipline, it is the more faulty of the two. In "exorbitant wealth, political functions and con-

nections, pluralities and non-residence, unequal distribution of endowments," it is represented that the daughter has outdone the mother. Now it requires but little acquaintance with English history to know that the period which elapsed from the time when the monasteries were dissolved under Henry the Eighth *, to that in which Ecclesiastical Dignitaries were restrained from alienating the possessions attached to their preferments, under James the First, was marked throughout by the spoliation of those dignities which yet remain to the Church of England. Manors, lands, and mansion-houses, were transferred from perhaps all the principal Ecclesiastical appointments, to different favourites of the reigning prince : the impropriate tythes, which form so large a proportion of that property in England, were irrecoverably lost to the Church; and in truth, the temporal wealth of the Establishment, (to say nothing of the monasteries,) impaired to an immense extent. The loss of so much opulence need occasion no regret, had not some Bishopricks been so much impoverished that they cannot be held without

* From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations upon the secular, Clergy. He extorted from many of the Bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the Sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils." —Hume.

This system of despoiling the Church was continued during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth.

the addition of an inferior preferment, and had not many parochial benefices suffered so severely that they will no longer support a resident minister. It is however only necessary to mention the pillage of the Ecclesiastical property which continued during more than half a century after the Reformation, to shew at once, the absurdity of asserting that the wealth of our Protestant Church exceeds that of its Romish predecessor.

Upon the subject of "political functions and connections," the absurdity of comparing the Church of England with that of Rome, is sufficiently obvious. Notorious as it is, that, before the appointment of Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor, had been, for centuries, generally chosen from among the Ecclesiastics; and that, from the same body, Secretaries of State, and Ambassadors to foreign Princes, were commonly selected; few persons would venture to compare the "political functions" of Protestant Divines, with those of their Romish predecessors. Nor with respect to "pluralities and non-residence," need our modern Church fear a comparison with that which it supplanted. The obvious cases of Wolsey, Campeggio, and Ghinucci, will at once mark the difference between the two Establishments. At the time when the first named remarkable personage was Lord Chancellor, and Archbishop of York, he was also allowed to hold the opulent Bishoprick of Winchester, and the Abbacy of St. Alban's. Who ever heard of a case in which

such splendid preferments were accumulated upon a Protestant Divine? The two latter Prelates were Italians, who held the wealthy sees of Salisbury and Worcester, while they were allowed to reside in their native country. In the face of such well-known abuses, it is absurd to compare the licence of our modern Church with that of the one which preceded it.

“The unequal distribution of wealth” is certainly now observable among the English Clergy, as it was, although not in so great a degree, in the ancient Romish Establishment. But this circumstance is not confined to the clerical profession: it attaches, perhaps, fully as much to every other: nor is it reasonable to expect, that, while the talents, the industry, and the opportunities of men are various, their professional emoluments should be the same. “The unequal distribution of wealth,” among those who follow secular callings, is known to benefit society at large; because it induces able men to qualify themselves for a particular line of life, and to use those exertions in it which are likely to advance their fortunes. Nor is it very easy to conceive why the clerical profession should lose the benefit of a principle which is found to confer so much respectability upon every other. If, indeed, the whole revenues of the Church were equally divided among her Ministers, it is true that the humble pittance which would fall to the lot of each individual, would exceed the sum which *every* Cler-

gyman at present derives from his profession ; but it is equally true that these incomes would be so small, that few parents in respectable circumstances would qualify their children to obtain them. From the lower, and occasionally from the middle ranks of society, Clergymen might undoubtedly still be found to accept these humble appointments. But from a body of men whom persons of talent could not prudently join, and whom, poverty excluded from any association with the more opulent classes of the community, either rational views of religion, or an influence reaching through every rank in society, could not be expected. One important advantage possessed by our existing Church Establishment, is, that it is enabled to offer some hope of an honourable elevation to men of distinguished ability ; and the result has been, that, in every department of literature, many of the most eminent names will be found to be those of English Clergymen. In addition to the lustre which the learning and talents, that have never been wanting to the clerical body, throw upon the whole order, the opulence and dignity of a few Churchmen conspire to induce all classes of the community to treat the profession with respect. No man in England can challenge that degree of intellectual eminence, very few that degree of personal distinction, which will seek in vain for a corresponding elevation among the Clergy. Nor need an individual of that order hesitate to attribute a large proportion of the sound sense and

rational piety, which are so prevalent among his countrymen, to the public instructions and private friendship of their clerical associates.

When all these circumstances are fairly considered, it is obviously not the interest, even if it were the inclination of the English Clergy, to restrain the inquiries of candid men into their affairs*. On the contrary, they have every reason to rejoice when the attention of such persons is turned to ecclesiastical subjects. The purity of doctrine maintained by our Church, the conformity of her discipline to that of the earliest ages, the literary and professional respectability of her Ministers, and (even the point apparently most open to objection) the existing condition of her external circumstances, are all fully equal to stand any degree of investigation to which they may be subjected by an honourable mind. That such a system will fail of giving complete satisfaction to every individual, even of candour and integrity, need occasion no surprise. For what system ever did obviate all the objections which the ingenuity of adversaries could urge against it? Enough is gained, when institutions satisfy the majority of those who are most interested in them, and best qualified to appreciate

* "To be sure nothing can be figured more glaringly absurd than the notion of restraining men's opinions upon questions of ecclesiastical policy, in an island so governed as Great Britain, and so parcelled out between two opposite Establishments." *Exlib. Rev.* p. 365.

their real merits. Such has been the happiness of those religious arrangements which were made in this country at the time of the Reformation. During a long period of nearly three centuries, they have succeeded in giving satisfaction to the great majority of a free and enlightened nation. Nor does a nearer view of our religious Establishment always confirm the prejudices against it which may probably prevail on the north of the Tweed. If all Scotsmen should bring such to us, which we may well doubt, it is very satisfactory to know that they commonly disappear, as personal observation proves their injustice. The wretched bigotry which, the Reviewer tells us, his countrymen are "bound" to feel in England*, is happily rare among the many estimable and liberal individuals of that nation who are settled among us. On the contrary, the English Clergy often have the pleasure of numbering Scotsmen among their friends and their congregations. Those divines of the Established Church who are engaged in tuition, commonly have committed to their care the sons of persons who received their own education in anti-prelatical Scotland; and some such young persons are never wanting in the English Universities, restricted as they are, to members of the Established Church. Happily, therefore, a large portion of his countrymen have risen superior to the pitiable illiberality of the Reviewer, and would pro-

* "The Scotch everywhere to be found in England, are bound in conscience to hate Prelacy." Edinb. Rev. p. 365.

bably spurn a prejudice which he says they are "bound" to encourage, as a disgrace to a liberal mind and an enlightened age.

When we consider the general disposition of those who inhabit England to respect the Established Church, it will not appear surprising that the ecclesiastical system of our northern neighbours really does excite no very violent feeling of envy among us *. A Clergyman has no reason to speak with disrespect of a religious society whose principles of belief are the same as his own ; but as the Reviewer has provoked the observation, he must be reminded that the Presbyterian system was once tried in the southern division of the island. It was however discarded after an interval of a few years, very little to the regret of a great majority in the nation, and has never been popular since, among us. The "purity" of Presbyterianism is not therefore likely to strike the English as so pre-eminently conspicuous, that they would wish to see it take possession of their churches. Nor will its superior cheapness be perfectly clear to those who read the public papers, and observe that they do sometimes contain accounts of the agricultural distress that prevails in tithe-free Scotland. A sensible Englishman will be inclined to infer from this circumstance,

* "It is no less difficult, we presume, for our fellow subjects in England to contemplate the cheap and pure ecclesiastical establishment which we enjoy, without murmuring and repining." *Edinb. Rev.* p. 366.

that the money which he pays for the support of a religion to which he and his forefathers have been immemorially attached, is extracted from the pockets of a Scottish farmer for the purpose of augmenting the landlord's claim for rent : so that the pecuniary benefits derived by our northern neighbours from the cheapness of their Church Establishment, are far from being among the things most easy to be discovered.

But even if it were otherwise, it may well be doubted whether those would not be found to constitute a decided minority in England, who would consent to consult economy so far as to sacrifice for its sake, the pure and impressive religion of their fathers. Those who have grown up in habits of joining in the social worship of our admirable Liturgy, would not be easily persuaded to stand and listen to the solitary prayers of a Presbyterian Minister. Those who have approached the sacramental table with minds instructed in the nature of their solemn duty by the lucid illustrations of it afforded in the Book of Common Prayer, with hearts disposed to that penitence and that humility which a service so deeply affecting can hardly fail to inspire ; would be grieved to think that the certainty of these great advantages must be foregone, and that the degree of improvement to be derived in future from the most important of religious solemnities, must depend upon the talents, or even the actual feelings of an ordinary divine. Nor could persons who have been

used to see the youthful population of a district assembled at the expiration of stated intervals to receive episcopal benediction and advice, avoid a feeling of regret if they were to witness the discontinuance of a practice so well adapted to make a salutary impression upon the opening faculties of the human mind. When also, the tomb is about to close upon the remains of a departed friend, how would those who have been accustomed to hear upon such occasions the exquisite service of our Church, bear to be told that it was a Popish relic which had calmed the spirits of all their fathers at these melancholy times, and that therefore for the future, men must leave the graves of those whom they love, unadmonished and unconsolated? Let not our northern neighbours imagine that regard and veneration for the sublime and impressive offices of their established religion, are slightly fixed in the minds of the English people. To shew the falsity of such a notion, if it anywhere prevail, it is sufficient to state the notorious fact, that, in those districts which are sufficiently supplied with churches, the great majority of the inhabitants are decidedly attached to the national faith. It is only in those parts of the country which are inadequately provided with the authorised means of worship and instruction, that Dissenters of any kind are able to make many converts. In such situations, the religious feelings of the people dispose them rather to worship God in a manner which they do not cordially approve, than to neglect it al-

together. The experience of some of the last years has indeed, incontestibly proved, that the attachment of the English nation to their established faith is deep and real. Wherever new churches have been raised by the paternal care of the Legislature, ample congregations have been immediately found to fill them. Nor would some of our Dissenters, probably, enjoy their actual degree of popularity, if they had not adopted the Liturgy of the Church, and the vestments of her Ministers.

Because therefore no one, it may be, has hitherto thought it worth his while to refute the random assertions of the *Edinburgh Review*, and to expose the illiberality with which that publication has assailed our ecclesiastical system, let it not be doubted that there are many well-informed persons "adventurous enough to deny the gross abuses" which have been so boldly charged upon the Churches of England and Ireland *. Upon that, indeed, established in the sister island, an English Clergyman seldom possesses the means of forming a correct opinion; but from the misrepresentations with which he knows the Church on this side of St. George's Channel to have been attacked, he may be excused in doubting the accuracy of what is asserted with re-

* "Has any man yet existed adventurous enough to deny the gross abuses to which we have now and on former occasions adverted in the Churches of England and Ireland?" *Edinb. Rev.* p. 366.

spect to the Irish Ecclesiastical Establishment. That the English Clergy “shew a prudent regard for the things of this world, and a successful attention to them *,” need not be denied. They are bound in justice to themselves and to society to use that degree of diligence and ability in the prosecution of their profession, which may render it honourable in the eyes of wise and virtuous men. They are bound to administer their temporal affairs with that degree of prudence which may enable them to maintain a reputable rank among their neighbours, and to educate their families in a manner equal to that which other persons in a moderate station consider to be necessary. But if the mention of this “prudent regard” be in truth meant as an ironical charge of worldly-mindedness and rapacity, the ecclesiastics of this country may firmly repel the calumnious insinuation. It is perfectly notorious, that their compositions for tythe are generally lower than those of lay impropiators, and that, in all their habits, both of domestic hospitality and of neighbourhood charity, they seldom fail to display a liberality fully as great as their, generally very limited, means will allow. Nor unless this were the truth, could it have happened that, favourable as the times have been

* “It does shew (i. e. the English Church) a prudent regard for the things of this world, and a successful attention to them, which is well fitted to astonish those who take their ideas of a priesthood either from what they see around them in Scotland, or from what they read in the Scriptures.” *Edinb. Rev.* p. 368.

for the accumulation of wealth, so few families should have risen to hereditary opulence by means of a clerical ancestor. It is however the fact, that not one English Peer*, and very few, perhaps none, of the country gentlemen, inherit a fortune that was gained in the Church. Of this, the Clergy have no right to complain, as they engaged at the time of their ordination to "lay aside the knowledge of the world;" and therefore, they cannot expect to secure those advantages which ordinarily flow from a life devoted to gain. But the fact affords a decisive proof, that the revenues assigned by common report to some of the Clergy are a good deal over-rated, and that the habits generally prevailing in the order, are those which may be reasonably expected to distinguish men of liberal education and of Christian principles.

From the descriptions which follow the Reviewer's general insinuation, that the Church of England is characterized by an unbecoming care for the things of this world, it might be supposed that the members of the episcopal order dazzle those around them by a display of wealth and magnificence which are only equalled by the most con-

* Earl Talbot is descended from a Bishop of Durham; but the founder of his house was really that Bishop's son who was Lord Chancellor. The Bishop himself was far from rich. Among the Irish Peerages, there are a few which have been conferred upon Churchmen.

spicuous members of the hereditary aristocracy*. But what is the fact? Means of accurately ascertaining the amount of income enjoyed by any church dignitary, are obviously without the reach of any but the party himself and his most intimate connexions. Common report, however, does not assign to any English Prelate so large a revenue as the Reviewer has named, nor, except in two or three instances, one that even nearly approaches it. Nothing indeed is more notorious, than that the sovereigns of the Tudor family greatly lessened the temporal possessions of all the Bishopricks: so that the revenues which yet remain to the present possessors of these preferments, are, in many cases, wholly inadequate to maintain them in that style of respectability which is observable in the more eminent members of the lay professions. A Bishoprick would therefore be often found to entail a pecuniary burden upon him who should be promoted to it, were it not the custom to allow those of inferior value to be held with some other preferment. Even with this augmentation, it is not probable that the majority of English Bishops are in the receipt of larger incomes than

* "Prelates with twenty and twenty-five thousand pounds a year, living sumptuously in vast and splendid palaces, attended by bodies of serving men gorgeously attired, and of priests to wait upon their persons, ranking among the proudest nobles of the land, nay, taking precedence of them in all the perfect follies of heraldry." Edinb. Rev. p. 366.

those of the Judges. In eight or ten instances* there is certainly a more ample endowment; but in these few cases, it is difficult to discover any good reason why a spacious mansion and a suitable landed estate should not become for a few years the honourable reward of some meritorious member of a learned and useful profession, instead of forming part of the hereditary patrimony attached to an opulent family among the nobility or gentry. A few individuals, in all the lay professions, not only succeed in possessing themselves of a splendid seat and an ample fortune, but they are also enabled to bequeath these things to their children after them: while the family of a Churchman must leave the mansion of their father immediately after his decease, and is soon lost sight of in the obscurity of middle life.

Now, as the revenues attached to the English Prelates are probably in all cases, rated much beyond the truth, and certainly in most, are not more than the exigencies of their station require, it is obvious that "vast and splendid palaces" can be maintained by only a few of the order. The ancient usage of distinguishing the Bishop's residence, when attached to a cathedral, from the houses of the inferior dignitaries, by styling it the palace, probably often leads to an erroneous estimate of such edifices.

* The two Archbishopricks, London, Durham, Winchester, Salisbury, Ely, and Worcester. Perhaps to these may be added Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph.

An observant traveller through England is however very well aware, that be the appellation of these episcopal residences what it may, they are seldom remarkable either for their extent or for their magnificence. To be "attended by *bodies* of serving men," may perhaps yet be the distinction of a Russian or a Polish prince; but to assert it of an Englishman of any rank, is ridiculous. The absurdity, of the description is indeed, rendered more glaring by the "gorgeous attire" with which the Reviewer's luxuriant fancy has invested the attendants of a Bishop. This mode of designating a plain purple livery is really so ludicrous, that it is scarcely possible to have proceeded from any one who has ever met with an episcopal equipage. When the Critic mentions "the priests to wait upon the persons" of our Bishops, it is to be presumed that he intends by a bold rhetorical figure to describe the single chaplain * who generally attends at the triennial visitation, sometimes examines candidates for orders, and, perhaps occasionally, resides in the house of his patron.

After having encountered so much misrepresentation, it is to be conceded to the Reviewer, that, for once, he is right. The heralds do indeed, according to immemorial usage, rank our Prelates high in the

* The Archbishop of Canterbury retains two Chaplains, who ordinarily reside at Lambeth House; but the writer never heard of a similar instance.

scale of precedence. But what solid importance can any man of sense attach to the place which he is directed to occupy in a procession? If, however, an individual of the episcopal order were found weak enough to be elated by this heraldic precedence, the total neglect with which these same heralds treat his wife and family, could scarcely fail to moderate his exultation. Upon the Judges, the honour of knight-hood is generally conferred, and sometimes even higher dignities, which throw a degree of importance around their domestic circle. But the wife and family of an English Primate can claim no precedence beyond that which attaches to those of the humblest curate in his province. Surely therefore, the idea of dignity which is justly connected with the due discharge of an exalted function, and the respect which may be fairly claimed by eminent professional talents, are sufficient to furnish an excuse to the Churchmen of modern times, for continuing to the individuals at the head of their religious establishment, that unimportant precedence which "the perfect follies of heraldry" conferred upon the predecessors of these dignitaries in a different age.

Before the subject of the English Prelates is dismissed, it may perhaps, be excusable to advert to the illiberality of the treatment that they have received on account of their conduct in Parliament. To make a conspicuous figure in the debates of that assembly, Clergymen are rendered unfit by all the

habits of their lives. The preparation and the subsequent delivery of written matter, are the objects to which their attention is constantly directed. From men thus engaged until the middle or decline of life, the complete self-possession and ready flow of words which distinguish the trained statesman or the practised advocate, cannot reasonably be expected. Nor is it to be forgotten, that the becoming forbearance of the episcopal bench from an active interference in the political discussions of Parliament, tends to confirm that unfitness for popular eloquence, which the Prelates could hardly fail to bring with them into the House of Lords. From these circumstances it happens, that the ecclesiastical members of that assembly are little known to the publick in their legislative capacity; which would lead a candid observer to infer, that the political and secular character sometimes attributed to them, does not in truth attach to their order.

Little now remains for remark, in the severity with which the Church of England has been attacked in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, except some notice of the Churchmen who are pressed into the Critic's service. Of these, the first named is Burnet, an illustrious Scot, who felt himself above being "bound to hate Prelacy." Of this eminent man's opinions no one is quoted, the justice of which will not readily be admitted by every friend of our Church government. Nor from the splenetic effusion of Swift is any thing to be collected, except

a proof of his party violence, and of his hatred for the episcopal order, because he was excluded from it himself. Mr. Burke (who by the way contended for the advantages which society derives from the unequal distribution of ecclesiastical wealth *) merely expresses a wish, in the extract inserted by the Reviewer, that the Church should be adequately provided for, and “that the pastor should not have the inauspicious appearance of a tax-gatherer.” There is, however, but little danger that a sensible man will confound a composition for tythe with a government impost: he has seldom to look far, before he can discover that the rector’s claim is merely a portion of the rent, and that, therefore, it cannot reasonably be confounded with a tax. The extract from Bishop Watson’s writings, certainly recommends a decided alteration in our ecclesiastical system: it suggests, in short, the propriety of confiscating the chief part of the revenues enjoyed by the Clergy, of excluding the members of that order from all political influence whatever, and of admitting Socinianism, or any other heresy, into our churches †.

* See the passage extracted in Mr. Campbell’s Rights of the Clergy, p. 23.

† “A reformer,” says Bishop Watson, “of Luther’s temper and talents, would, in five years, persuade the people to compel the Parliament to abolish tythes, to extinguish pluralities, to enforce residence, to confine episcopacy to the overseeing of dioceses, to expunge the Athanasian Creed from our Liturgy, to free Dissenters from test acts, and the Minis-

It is to be regretted that such a disregard for the rights of property, such latitudinarian notions of religion, should find any degree of support in the recorded opinions of an able man, an apologist for Revelation, and a Christian Bishop. This eminent person, however, has taken care to furnish posterity with ample reasons for doubting the soundness of his discretion, by leaving for posthumous publication his *Memoirs of his own Life*. From this picture of mortified vanity, which, in any man would be ridiculous, in a Christian Bishop is something worse, it cannot fail of being inferred, that, whatever might have been the talents of Bishop Watson, the solidity of his judgment may be reasonably doubted.

With respect to the censures which Dr. King, the Jacobite Principal of St. Mary Hall, in Oxford, has left behind him, upon the Church dignitaries of his time, it is to be observed that they are chiefly general, and need receive no great attention, when the feelings of the man are considered. A disappointed politician, irritated by the continued depression of his party, and by the elevation of those who had espoused different principles, could be expected to speak of his more fortunate competitors with no great liberality. He has however, destroyed the credit that might have been possibly attached to his

ters of the Establishment from subscription to human articles of faith. These, and other matters respecting the Church, ought to be done. (*Letter to the Duke of Grafton.*)” Edinb. Rev. p. 375.

invectives, by his manner of mentioning Archbishop Secker *, a great and good man, whose name will often be mentioned with respect, at a time when that of Dr. King will only be known to curious inquirers into obsolete literature. The examples of munificence which are related in the Review of the Bishops Burnet and Butler, are alike honourable to the individuals and to their order. Nor can it be truly said that this noble spirit is yet extinct among the successors of these great men. The venerable Prelate who now fills the see that once was Butler's †, affords a convincing proof to the contrary.

The Reviewer's quotation from the works of the celebrated Paley, merely enforces the propriety of considering the Church as an instrument for the in-

* "A Presbyterian teacher, or one designed for the office, though he changes his condition, and has an opportunity of conversing with the politest men in the kingdom, yet he will always retain his original cant. Chandler, the Popish Bishop of London, and Secker, Bishop of Oxford, are both converts from Presbytery. They are frequent preachers; but the cant of their education renders their discourses very disagreeable to a good ear. Their parts are moderate, and nearly equal; but their characters are very different: Chandler is a real convert, and as void of all hypocrisy as he is free from pride and ambition." King's Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 14. Horace Walpole's quarto volumes of posthumous detraction, go far beyond this: but the Reviewer thought perhaps, that the coarseness with which this titled calumniator speaks of one Archbishop, and the levity with which he speaks of another, were rather too barefaced to suit his purpose.

† Durham.

struction of the people, not as the means of acquiring or of maintaining political influence. Upon this subject all honest men are agreed ; and it is a satisfaction to know, that the Church neither is, nor can be rendered, a mere political tool in the hands of any party. Of this, its situation during the reigns of the two first Georges is a striking proof. The bench of Bishops, and the principal dignitaries, were then attached to the Whig principles of the Ministry, but the great majority of the Clergy were Tories. There can be no doubt that the Minister would gladly have corrected this disinclination of the parochial Clergy towards the Government, if it had been in his power ; but the truth is, that the direct influence of the Crown over that body is not so considerable as it is sometimes represented to be. Its patronage extends to not more than one tenth of the livings in England : so that, were even all these bestowed in such a manner as to strengthen the power of the administration, yet a great majority of the parochial incumbents must always remain wholly uninfluenced, either by the recollection of favours past, or by the hope of those to come. They obtain their preferments from colleges, or from cathedrals, from family connexions, or from the patronage of opulent individuals ; nor have they generally, at any time of their lives, the least prospect or idea of obtaining any favour from the Crown. The truth is, therefore, that although a corrupt ministry might certainly render the princi-

pal dignities, and also a portion of the parochial benefices subservient to their political views, yet after all, the great majority of the Clergy would be found beyond their reach ; nor, if they lend their support to the measures of an administration, can any fair observer of their conduct, deny that it flows from the conscientious conviction of disinterested and honourable men.

Thus, is a plain statement of notorious facts fully adequate to vindicate the Church and Clergy of England from the obloquy which the Edinburgh Review has endeavoured to cast upon them. Their safety indeed, depends not upon "the compendious logic of the Crown-office," but upon the estimation in which they have been held for ages by a free, a liberal, and an enlightened people. The Reviewer, himself, has truly stated, that "of all Churches the Protestant ought the most to challenge full discussion, because it is the very creature of free inquiry *." To which it must be added, that the freedom of inquiry which gave birth to that branch of the Protestant Church established in England, is still its firmest support. It is only when men are ignorant of the truth, or when they intentionally conceal it, that they are enabled to make out a strong case against our ecclesiastical system. The reputation for talents, learning, and integrity, which the English Clergy have always maintained

* Edinb. Rev. p. 360.

among those who know them best, affords indeed, a strong presumption that the principles of belief which they are commissioned to inculcate are sound, and that the discipline which regulates their affairs is not justly liable to censure: since it is not very likely, that such a body of men could have been the dupes, or would have consented to become the instruments, of manifest corruptions and abuses during a long succession of years. Nor, if an over zealous advocate should have endeavoured to work upon the feelings of a jury, by directing a torrent of irony and invective against those of his countrymen who follow a profession certainly not less learned and useful than his own, will unprejudiced men, in their cooler moments, fail to consider such an experiment as a mere professional artifice. A writer, in a journal of eminence, has, however, used this forensic declamation for the purpose of directing the public eye to the bitter feelings of hatred and intolerance, which arise in his mind, on the recollection of the Church established in England. He has even stooped to the baseness of helping the lameness of that cause which furnished a pretence for his illiberal strictures, by a representation that it is untrue*; and then, upon the strength of his own falsehood, he has ventured

* “A newspaper, of merely local circulation, had published a few remarks upon the factious spirit of some of the Durham Clergy, in ordering the bells not to toll at Her Majesty’s decease, a mark of respect invariably shewn to all the members of the Royal Family.” Edinb. Rev. p. 351.

to give currency to "remarks upon the factious spirit of some of the Durham Clergy." Having thus manufactured a weapon to his mind, he boldly assails the religious system of South Britain, in a strain of inveterate hostility that would have done honour to the days in which the Solemn League and Covenant blinded the fanatical bigots of a former age to all the considerations suggested by reason and justice. When, however, the abuses which he pretends to have discovered are drawn out from amidst the mass of vehement declamation and useless authorities with which they are encumbered, it must give to every Churchman great satisfaction to observe, how few and frivolous are the objections which this bitter enemy, with all his ingenuity, has been enabled to allege against our religious doctrine and discipline. He has indeed asserted, that pluralities and non-residence will not stand the test of inquiry: from which, it is to be hoped, that he has made no inquiry himself; since, if he had, he could not fail to know that these usages are, in many cases, no evil, and that, at all events, they must be permitted, while so many benefices are no better endowed than they are at present. He has invensively contrasted the dignitary with the parish priest; but he has omitted to mention that these two descriptions generally apply to one person, who is no other than a parochial minister, deriving a moderate augmentation to the income of his cure from the revenues of a cathedral. Nor has he added, that

abject poverty is happily rare among the English Clergy ; since those of that body who are most inadequately remunerated by the Church, have commonly other resources which enable them to live in comfort and respectability. Nor is any reason given, why the clerical profession should lose the benefit of that "unequal distribution of wealth," to which all other callings are indebted for their efficiency and importance. Nor is it explained, how one occupier of land should feel it more vexatious to pay the same amount of rent in two separate sums, which another has to pay in one sum. The absurdity of imputing to the Church of England any leaning towards Transubstantiation, is really too gross to be treated seriously ; and it is apprehended, that few persons who observe how strictly the Rubric confines to particular emergencies the Absolution to sick penitents, will blame our Reformers because they considerably retained this ancient form in their admirable compilation. Upon their venerable Liturgy, Churchmen may indeed, look with increased satisfaction, when they observe that a determined caviller is enabled to urge against it only a few objections, all of which are trifling, and some of which are unfounded ; so that at length he is driven to take an exception against the whole service, because, forsooth, its compilers have admitted into it, certain portions which the Church of Rome had used before, and which she had derived either from Scripture, or from the primitive Christians. It may

readily be supposed, that a nation attached by long habit to a religious system, which is thus able to baffle the ingenuity of its unfairest adversaries, is not very likely to "murmur and repine" because they see the Presbytery, which is highly distasteful to them, banished to the north side of the Tweed. Nor will, the probably exaggerated reports of the revenues enjoyed by two or three individuals upon the episcopal bench, dispose men of candour and liberality either to blame this appropriation of wealth in these few instances, or to represent it as if it bore a close analogy to the manner in which the Church has generally provided for her Prelates. And what shall we say of that man's accuracy, who can describe a few servants, dressed in a remarkably plain livery, as "bodies of serving men gorgeously attired;" and who can magnify the single chaplain, sometimes in attendance upon a Bishop, into "bodies of priests to wait upon his person?" This absurdity certainly outdoes every other, in this faithful and candid picture of the English Church; but the whole mass of accusation which is brought against it, is unable to bear the scrutiny of any liberal man who is competently informed upon the subject. Such a person could not fail to rise from an inquiry into the "clerical abuses," which have no better support than the allegations of the Edinburgh Review, "adventurous enough to deny" the whole of them.

In a case where refutation is so easy, to publish to the world such a mass of misrepresentation, may seem to have been a bold measure in any writer who is likely to attract notice. But this calumnious critic has reasoned shrewdly enough. Many persons who would eagerly read his assertions, would obstinately turn away from any refutation of them : nor would any force of argument, or any statement of facts, efface from the minds of such persons their original impressions. In a country so populous and so free as England is, there will ever be a large party of destitute men, who would be glad to acquire property without the aids of character and industry. Such men mark out the Clergy as the first victims in a general scheme of spoliation, because they are aware that many opulent laymen are so shortsighted as to view this inroad upon property without alarm, if not with satisfaction. There is also among us, a wretched band of unprincipled and profligate outcasts, to whom the restraints of religion are so hateful, that they never cease to revile her ministers ; and they reserve their bitterest hostility for those of the ecclesiastical profession who, from their wealth and learning, are best able to stem the torrent of infidelity and wickedness. Others there are, who would rejoice to see the Church of England weakened, because she has long been the firmest bulwark of the Protestant religion. Nor can any community be entirely free from men of envious and illiberal principles, who hate all wealth

and consideration which they do not themselves enjoy, and who would be therefore capable of deriving a miserable gratification from the sight of a despised and necessitous Clergy. English society also comprises among its members, many individuals whose religion is infected by the austerity of their tempers, which has communicated to it a character so gloomy and forbidding, that they refuse to acknowledge any man to be a faithful minister of the Gospel, unless he have adopted the rigid notions and unsocial habits of an ascetic recluse. Various, as are the views entertained by these different descriptions of men, widely as they are separated from each other, by the different degrees of estimation in which they are held by candid observers, they all agree in an hostility to the established religion more or less considerable; and they constitute altogether, a formidable mass of opposition to the ecclesiastical institutions of their native land. Happily, however, the great preponderance of virtue, talent, learning, wealth, and dignity, in England, is directed to the support of that venerable system which was settled by some of the wisest and best men of a former age, and which has been cordially approved by a great majority of those in after times. Nor is it probable that such individuals as possess the greatest weight in a nation like our own, will readily lend an ear to gross misrepresentations, frivolous objections, uncharitable censures, or dishonest projects of spoliation and pillage, however boldly these things may

be brought forward. They will not be found to abandon the Church to which they are attached both by the prejudices of education and by the conviction of mature age, at the bidding of unfair and ignorant adversaries ; nor will they cease to protect and esteem a body of Clergy who are connected with themselves by the ties of blood and friendship, and who have been proved by long experience to be equal to the important task of giving a spiritual direction to the mental energies of a powerful and a reflecting people.

THE END.

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THE
EVILS OF INNOVATION:

A SERMON

PREACHED AT ROMFORD,

AT

THE VISITATION

OF THE

VENERABLE HUGH CHAMBRES JONES, M.A.,

ARCHDEACON OF ESSEX,

ON MONDAY, MAY 29, 1843,

BY

HENRY SOAMES, M.A.,

RECTOR OF STAPLEFORD TAWNEY WITH THOYDON MOUNT.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLHI.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Sermon has been thought by some who heard it, likely to be useful. In the hope that it may prove so, publication has been determined upon. A few notes have been added for the use of readers who have not ready access to the ordinary channels of ecclesiastical information.

Stapleford Tawney,

June 6, 1843.

THE EVILS OF INNOVATION.

ISAIAH XXXIII. 6.

Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times.

THESE words, you will remember, occur in that triumphant ode by which the prophet expresses holy gratitude on Jerusalem's deliverance from Senacherib. Hezekiah, therefore, is the prince to whom is given here a promise of stability. Well did he know the value of such a blessing, for had "God forgotten to be gracious,"¹ Zion must have been recently profaned by victorious heathenism. Jehovah had "sworn," however, "by his holiness that he would not fail David."² So long as the royal race remained steady to an unadulterated creed, its hold upon the throne was to prove enduring as the sun's upon the firmament of heaven.³

¹ Ps. lxxvii. 9. ² Ps. lxxxix. 34., Com. P. Transl. ³ *Ib.* 35.

Hezekiah had kept his faith "whole and undefiled."⁴ He had never halted between Jehovah and Baal,⁵ never sought mediators between fallen man, and the Great Supreme, never bidden an altar smoke, or incense mount, unless to greet with humble reverence "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity."⁶ He felt sure that prayer needed only real piety to reach the throne of grace. Most signally was the soundness of this conviction shewn. When human aid appeared unequal to the pious king of Judah's rescue, a destroying angel made Assyria's overwhelming host, in one awful night, a ghastly mountain of mortality.⁷ Where then were the Gods of heathenism? Israel's God had nobly fought for his chosen race. If Hezekiah's faith could have ever wavered, he must now have been effectually cured of any leaning towards that "voluntary humility,"⁸ which sought Omnipotence through fancied mediators of inferior kind. He had found even, that when nothing less than miracle could save him, a miracle was wrought. God shewed himself "ever mindful of his covenant."⁹ Its conditions had been duly kept on one side, and could not be forgotten on the other. Men will always find it so, but they have no reason to reckon upon miracles. Their heavenly Father works at ordinary times by ordinary means. He blesses his

⁴ Athan. Cr.

⁵ 1 Kings xviii. 21.

⁶ Is. lvii. 15.

⁷ *Ib.* xxxvii. 36.

⁸ Col. ii. 18.

⁹ Ps. cxi. 5.

faithful children by blessing their judicious endeavours. He does not make “a new thing”¹⁰ to serve them, unless at some extraordinary times when such an interposition is absolutely needful. Thus, when he subsequently promised *stability* to Hezekiah, (a happiness that had lately seemed all but hopeless,) he promised it by human means. No hint is given of angelic interposition. It was to flow from an especial blessing upon reasonable courses : and why should any child of God, however favoured, look for more ?

Although circumstances, a little before the prophet wrote, had shewn *stability* to be among the greatest boons conferred by Providence upon mankind, its importance is conspicuous at every time. Without stability of character no man’s talents and exertions will materially serve him. Without stability in its institutions, no nation will rise in the social scale, or even make due provision for the comfort of individuals. This invaluable quality is, however, no spontaneous produce of human nature. Elders have often considerable difficulty in moulding the young to a habit of it. Rulers are constantly resisting that popular unsteadiness which would rashly sacrifice the most valuable institutions. Hence it is desirable to know the foundations of stability. The text mentions no other than “wisdom and knowledge.” Nor obviously need any others

¹⁰ Num. xvi. 30.

be sought. From good sense, guided by experience and sufficient information, there can be little or no danger of missing stability.

Of the two things on which Isaiah founds it, "wisdom" properly stands first, because it is only sagacious minds that can make the best use of opportunities. But no degree of understanding will avail for many purposes without competent information. "Knowledge" is therefore the instrument which must be possessed, before we can hope to realise the promise of the text. Hence knowledge may conveniently be considered first, and it is quite sufficient for the ordinary limits of a sermon. The text also directs attention to one particular kind of knowledge. It refers only to such information as affects "the stability of the times." This is of no easy acquisition. It calls for careful, extensive, and impartial research. Private and speculative studies may allowably be superficial. But such enquiries as influence established principles and institutions, must be wide and deep, or they will be worthless, if not worse. Practice based on partial views engenders *instability*. The party-man's one-sided knowledge no sooner gains importance by acting on society, than adverse minds array themselves against it. His convictions are assailed, as crudely formed on grounds that will not bear examination. Hence, if he really have gained a hold on the public mind, or public institutions, unsteadiness is communicated to the one, insecurity to the

other. Surely, then, a Christian love of peace may make us pause, when great practical questions are urged upon our attention, until these have been examined long, and in various lights. When, indeed, such questions *have* been so examined, examined also "in an honest and good heart,"¹¹ men may reckon upon realising Isaiah's promise,— "Wisdom and knowledge will give stability to the times."

Where is the country that can exemplify these animating words more completely than our own? What institution ever known to man was founded upon grounds, more thoroughly examined in all their bearings, more deliberately taken, than the Church of England? When first estranged from Rome, our nation's religious luminaries thought of little else than shaking off a foreign usurpation,¹² opening Scripture to the public eye, and weaning a benighted populace from some debasing superstitions. As time ran on, and information grew, more light broke in upon those venerated men to whom we owe an eternal debt of gratitude. It broke, however, in but slowly, was received with humble, pious caution, and never brought to bear upon the country until its purity was thoroughly examined. Had not conviction really been thus gained, would it have driven elderly, learned, unenthusiastic men upon the blazing pyre? We cite Apostles and

¹¹ St. Luke viii. 15.

¹² That of the Pope.

Evangelists, and fairly ask, How could the Gospel be a "cunningly-devised fable,"¹³ sealed as it was by the life's blood of men, so every way above exception? Credit would never be maintained at such a price by a succession of cool-headed impostors. We may say the same of those whose holy self-devotion so dearly purchased our own spiritual privileges. The leaders in our "noble army of martyrs"¹⁴ were neither hasty, nor self-seekers, nor undiscerning. They did not even feel indifference for life. On the contrary, imagination, in their weaker moments, appears to have painted with frightful truth of colouring, the chain, the stake, the scorching flame. The most conspicuous of these generous victims,¹⁵ we know to have been tempted by the sinful flesh's greediness of life, into a dissimulation that embittered his dying agonies with remorse. He died, however, steady to his faith, as others did, with whom he had laboured after truth. They could not abandon their profession, for it was

¹³ 2 St. Peter i. 16.

¹⁴ *Te Deum*.

¹⁵ Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, burnt at Oxford, March 21, 1556. The Romish party took extraordinary pains to wring a recantation from him, and it has been commonly believed that they succeeded. It seems, however, hardly doubtful that their success was very imperfect. Cranmer, under the temptations by which he was plied, seems rather to have dissembled his belief, than renounced it. He died, however, firm to the Protestant faith, but bitterly bewailing the wretched weakness which made him seem, one time, willing to forsake it.

founded upon knowledge most solidly acquired. On this account, it has proved "the stability" of succeeding times: being rooted so firmly in the country as to triumph over opposition of every kind.

Public opinion has been blown, according to its nature, first by one man's breath, then by another's. The Marian persecution was no sooner over, than human restlessness chafed upon cap and surplice.¹⁶ Next arose objections to the hierarchy and liturgy,¹⁷ with such a partiality for Calvinism as made Archbishop Whitgift willing to narrow the terms of national conformity by imposing the Lambeth articles.¹⁸ As this taste wore out, Arminianism became popular among the clergy. Then Bishop

¹⁶ Soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession, violent objections were made by many zealous Protestants, to the square cap, (like that now worn in English universities,) which the clergy were required to wear habitually, according to the immemorial usage, and to the surplice which they were to wear in their ministrations. Both were considered unlawful, because they had been worn in times of Popery, which was denounced as an idolatrous religion.

¹⁷ About the year 1571. The objectors wished for a Presbyterian establishment. They were not against all forms of prayer, but claimed a free licence to pray *ex tempore* both before and after sermon, and made many objections to the Prayer-Book established by law.

¹⁸ In 1595. The Lambeth articles are so called because they were framed at the archbishop's residence there. They are nine in number, and take high predestinarian ground. The Thirty-nine Articles were found insufficient for the exclusion of divines who dissented from the Genevan school. The operation, therefore, of

Andrewes¹⁹ taught scholarly divines to read with longing eyes the records of ecclesiastical antiquity. Archbishop Laud's arduous and well-meant, but injudicious and unhappy primacy, gave the seed thus sown a rank luxuriance, which found a check in civil war, the sovereign's murder, and a ruined church establishment. On the restoration, an ostentatious piety, lately seen in contrast with man's habitual selfishness, was found to have lowered the general estimate of religion. Hence upper life became overspread with infidelity, and clergymen of talent were too much tasked for mere philosophy. This gave a moral tone, such an excessive possession of the pulpit, as could be broken neither by the Romish controversy that ushered in the Revolution, nor by the non-juring attempts that followed, in favour of Laudian principles. Afterwards Bishop Hoadly gave currency to a latitudinarian spirit within the Church, and a growing indifference to doctrine left a hungry void in the

the Lambeth articles, if they had been ratified by the Government, would have been to shut out from the Church all clergymen who did not hold extreme Calvinistic opinions. But Queen Elizabeth refused to sanction them.

¹⁹ Lancelot Andrewes died bishop of Winchester, Sept. 1, 1626. He was a man of extraordinary learning and great piety. A charge of superstition was brought against him after his death, but although his love of antiquity allowed him to disregard no established precedent, he seems to have cautiously abstained from pressing any thing that he did not find in actual possession. See Fuller, *Ch. Hist. B.* xi. p. 127.

public mind which Wesley and Whitfield filled. The eighteenth century closed amid clerical endeavours to stem the torrent of licentious infidelity that flowed from revolutionary France, and the nineteenth opened with controversies on gigantic efforts to circulate the Bible. These having died away, a new generation has drawn materials for mental activity from writers little noticed since non-juring times.

Many and various as have been these changes, the stability of our Church has continued unimpaired. It sank, undoubtedly, one time, as an establishment,²⁰ but it soon rose again more vigorous than ever. Its hold upon public opinion, therefore, though not incapable of a temporary shock, can hardly fear a vital injury. Original objections to it, have, indeed, become positively extinct. Its old Presbyterian enemy scarcely lives on English ground, out of history. Recent secessions have commonly been made under professions of real affection for it, and complaints of a departure from the principles of its venerable founders. No examination of such charges is needed here. Their existence, however, bears powerful testimony to the inherent stability of that system which Cranmer, Ridley, and their assistants planted. Clamour has repeatedly assailed our church-establishment, and from parties with very different views. Why have

²⁰ In the civil war that overthrew Charles I.

they generally disclaimed an intention to overthrow it, and professed nothing more than a wish to place it on ground originally taken? Surely, it must be, because the structure was reared by builders of unquestionable knowledge. Their heroic ends prove them to have been pious and sincere. Hence their work must have proceeded amidst earnest and unremitting prayers. These prayers, however, came from men of sound discretion, and sought only, therefore, a blessing upon reasonable means diligently plied. The finished work bears evidence to this. Such stability is unattainable by hasty hands and superficial heads. It is true, that every thing presented by this venerable structure is not coeval with its original foundation. Some immaterial changes have gradually found place. But of these, observation and enquiry will generally shew the necessity or expediency. They were, therefore, prescribed by experience: and experience is knowledge. To assail successfully a system thus established must require an extent of information that does not come within ordinary opportunities. Theological erudition, when pushed beyond articles of faith, embraces, indeed, a field so wide, that much of it may still remain to be known even to the learned. Inferior scholars, then, must necessarily be contented with exploring only a small part of it, and some favourite theory may narrow even that, leaving them without light which really they might have had. Thus, for instance, opinions upon the Christian ministry have commonly

been formed with little or no thought of the Synagogue, although this institution was probably kept in sight by the Apostles, when they organized the Church. A due consideration of its arrangements, and of the original word used in the New Testament for ministers of the Gospel, might modify some ideas of their own privileges and functions that are naturally popular among clergymen regularly ordained.²¹ Favourable views of the papal system have also been sometimes entertained without a sufficient acquaintance with its real character. Its theatrical service has been hastily approved as useful to render attendance in God's house agreeable to the indevout; but is the dramatising of religious rites an allowable expedient for curing indevotion? So likewise, during the heats of a controversy upon our Lord's connection with humanity, theologians might, perhaps, excusably, style the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. But is there any excuse for continuing such a designation so as to make it pass into the daily speech of superstitious ignorance? Have not the populace, and weak minds above the populace, been thus betrayed into the sin and folly of finding a new Diana? Suppose too, it is admitted, that advantages must flow from confidential intercourse between God's ministers and their flocks; we still may ask, are there any advantages great enough to justify the

²¹ See *The Synagogue and the Church*, by J. L. Bernard. London, 1842.

prying, delusive, and impure confessional? Is not any advantage besides bought ruinously dear that leads human corruption to trust, or connives at its trust, in sacerdotal absolutions? Upon these terms, or any like them, popularity cannot be legitimately gained. Who then shall envy the portion of it gained by Rome? None surely, unwarping by previous prejudice, who have sufficiently studied papal principles, and know their operation on society.

Sufficient knowledge may likewise arrest a wish to put a new face on our public ordinances. Every change is defensible, it may be thought at first, which can plead some sort of authority from our present service-book. This volume, however, as we know, is no work of any single period. Although chiefly compiled under Edward VI., yet in his brief reign, two forms of it appeared, importantly differing from each other.²² From Elizabeth's first year down to the Savoy conference,²³ various other alterations were accomplished, and our liturgical system is besides affected by royal injunctions, canons, and acts of parliament. If these diversified authorities be carefully considered, a want of coherence between them in many particulars, will soon be detected. Provisions made for one state of things will be found continued under another, so that some of those modifications, which have grown into use, became positively unavoidable. Others obviously sprang

²² In 1549 and 1552.

²³ In 1661.

from a reasonable, perhaps rather, from a necessary deference, to prevailing habits and opinions. Still, the ritual system, prescribed in our service-book, has really been but little infringed. Why not leave its features, then, as the country has immemorially known them? Why endeavour to disturb a possession which nearly all England is anxious to respect? Little change may be desired, but people generally are averse from any. Nor does their aversion rest upon the mere force of habit. A diligent search for that knowledge which the case requires will soon discover authorities and reasons for most of our existing ritual arrangements.

A disposition to disturb them, it may, perhaps, be urged without offence, cannot always be safely trusted, because it is based on conscious rectitude, and no contemptible information. Views firmly, honestly, and even long entertained, have notwithstanding, sometimes proved mistaken views. Thus both Hezekiah and Senacherib claimed a standing on religious grounds, and besides, what is usually overlooked, on *common* religious grounds. The pious king of Judah cried to the Great Supreme. The Assyrian derided his appeal. And why? Because it involved a slight upon the deified subordinates of Paganism. The Jewish monarch took, as we say, Protestant ground, Senacherib took Romish ground. Thus, accordingly, spake his general, Rabshakeh. "If thou say to me, We trust in

the Lord, our God : is it not he whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away ? ” ²⁴ Both sovereigns admitted one paramount Divinity. But Assyria, like all Pagan countries past and present, like modern Rome besides, gave him a sort of court : surrounded his everlasting throne, that is, with deified, or canonised spirits, (use which word you will,) once tenanting mortal bodies, now thought privileged intercessors between God and man. The Gentile world had an immemorial tradition for this opinion, which it felt assured could not be disregarded without positive impiety : an impiety too which directly affected Jehovah himself ; who was personally dishonoured through the neglect of his appointed servants. *Their* high places were *his* high places, *their* altars, *his* altars. The Assyrians took a pride in thinking thus, and reckoned on their creed as a title to celestial favour. But now we cannot find believers in it nearer than the Pagans of Hindostan. A similar confidence in Gentile principles was also popular among the Jews themselves. Those of them who would hear of no alliance between Jehovah and Baal, were branded with profaneness by their paganising countrymen. “ Stand by thyself,” was the language of these men, encased in spiritual pride, and really tainted with apostacy, “ come

²⁴ Is. xxxvi. 7.

not near to me: for I am holier than thou.”²⁵ No doubt, a neglect of inferior mediation was currently denounced as impious. No doubt, among the followers of a Gentile creed were found such striking instances of penitential self-denial as yet are known among the devotees of India. No doubt, Pagan theology could command support even from considerable erudition. We know, that, when assailed by primitive Christianity, it wanted not able champions. Yet now it is without a single friend in any well-informed society. From such examples we may reasonably hesitate, when solicited by theories that threaten stability; even if their advocates be confident, self-denying, well-intentioned, and scholarly. Their scholarship may prove nothing more than party-scholarship, which comes in with one gale, and is blown away by another.

Cautious minds may reasonably, therefore, seek excuse, when pressed by calls to leave their wonted course. They may fairly ask besides, when such a call is made as has been lately heard, What prospect is there of persuading the great majority of Englishmen into any new confidence in ritual formalities and sacramental efficacy? The nation thinks, and Christ himself is its authority, “Behold the kingdom of God is within you.”²⁶ England has none of the elements for building up a Romish reliance upon ordinances. In treating these, our

²⁵ Is. lxxv. 5.

²⁶ St. Luke xvii. 21.

Church has steered a middle course, and like such courses generally, it has proved a wise one. She has attributed no magical efficacy to externals, but she has not injudiciously neglected them. To strain her voice in their favour, is only to render it suspected. Time was, when the surplice was a party-badge, and the liturgy reviled as a pernicious remnant of the mass-book. Why could firebrands be made of such objections? Because men had recently seen, under a Romish church-establishment, an excessive trust in the mere machinery of piety. The reaction came, as come it always does, and as usual, it ran into extremes. The old system was convicted by experience of a tendency to nurture superstition, and to lull the sinner's uneasy retrospect under a blind reliance on the priest. Could such a system coerce corrupt human indolence into laborious aspirations after that "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord?"²⁷ Centuries of failure said Nay: in a voice of thunder; and many thought, no departure could be too complete from that which had so signally miscarried. Our venerable Reformers, however, did not confound use with abuse. They merely pared away whatever had been found inexpedient, indefensible, and injurious. Ample justice was eventually done to their discrimination. All that it spared gained firm possession of the people's love. Who would shake

²⁷ Heb. xii. 14.

its hold, by claiming for externals an importance, which the whole country would quickly hear, is not legitimately theirs? An imprudent stress on antiquated forms might even revive the captious cavils that agitated England, under Elizabeth and Charles I. In the former reign, popular prejudice against prescribed externals rested on the tendency of Romanism, then recently well known, to divert attention from the real differences between a state of nature and a state of grace. In the latter, some leading churchmen could not rest contented with a cure for a few obvious, but inveterate irregularities.²⁸ They enlisted popular obstinacy on the side of these

²⁸ The communion-table was ordinarily placed, in parish-churches, as the rubric allowed, in the body of the church, or at the entrance of the chancel. In either place it was often rather in the way, and liable to serve unworthy purposes, while the chancel generally seemed of no use except for a school or parish-vestry room. Archbishop Laud, and his party, insisted upon the removal of the table to the east end of the chancel, the erection of a rail in front of it, or all round it, and the coming of communicants up to this rail. A principal objection to these arrangements appears really to have been the trouble and expense involved in them. But conscience was made the plea for resisting them, and unfortunately some doctrinal movements of their friends, besides great indiscretion, gave importance to the opposition. (*Kennett's Complete Hist. Engl.* iii. 67.) "'Tis certain Archbishop Laud and his brethren meant nothing but decency and uniformity; but then indeed they pressed them with more zeal than the things deserved, while not expressly enjoined; and this contending for them with vehemence made people suspect a dangerous design in them: soft and slower methods might have done. We have since seen most of these externals intro-

defects, by *innovating*, or as they said, *renovating*, in other points.²⁹ Even there they could not stop. All their movements were rendered odious and suspicious by doctrinal advances towards Rome. Thus the moderation of our Reformers lost, for a time, its due weight upon the country, and ordinances were thrust below their legitimate position in the Christian economy. Those who value, therefore, the decent externals of religion, and revere sacraments as appointed means of grace, may hence learn the danger of venturing upon extremes.

Besides this danger, we may reasonably fear the evils of clerical disunion. It might have been remarked long ago, that, wherever churches bore a due proportion to the population, dissent was rarely very flourishing. But such remarks were idly made. No one scarcely thought of applying a remedy to the evil. At length, however, a nobler, nay, rather, a holier spirit has arisen. Those who duly feel their own religious privileges, and can assist others to a share of them, have shewn a readiness to do this their bounden duty. Why damp an ardour so beneficial both to rich and poor, by striving to force upon the Church a face neither known to our

duced and quietly established into custom, because they have been recommended rather than enforced, and men without imposition have been allowed to receive them." *Ib.* 86.

²⁹ Heylin's *Laud.* 417.

fathers, nor ourselves? When religious men bid churches rise around they do not contemplate facilities for that which would be extensively denounced as lifeless or superstitious formalism. They wish for any thing rather than the spread of doctrines new to the nation's ears. Vainly would proofs be sifted for obnoxious principles out of the voluminous and multifarious matter left us by the Fathers. Vainly would confirmations of them be produced from some of our own divines, (worthy and learned as they were,) who wrote in suspicious times. The Christian public would reject such testimony, and ask, What says the Bible? Where was this divinity, before its yesterday's emergence into light? Such questions, it is enough to say, could not long pour in, without paralysing national liberality, and blighting well-founded hopes of Christian usefulness.

Why, then, broach opinions and adopt usages, which, being new to the minds and eyes of ordinary men, unsettle the public mind, shock popular prejudice, and engender party-spirit? Are we sure of any sufficient ground for braving these undeniable evils? They really are evils which threaten "the stability of the times." Hence they cannot be prudently disregarded without a clear prospect of greater countervailing good. Any such prospect is, however, thought very questionable, by many whose judgement is not unworthy of respect. As a means of rendering it inviting, its advocates talk much of

“ the old paths ” ³⁰ originally trodden by our fathers. Even if the steps of by-gone days *did* walk this way, these paths have been long forgotten, and nothing is less desired by the great majority in every rank, than to tread them now. But in reality, the venerable character claimed for this forgotten track is open to dispute. The knowledge required for judging of its antiquity is only beginning to act upon the country. It is, however, far easier to acquire the means of defending actual possession, than of substantiating the call for change. A brief enquiry will suffice to shew, that ritual arrangements, as immemorially known to England, and dear to Englishmen, have little or nothing to fear from a few insulated rubrics. People, whose habits and partialities are unexpectedly assailed by these antiquated sanctions, will naturally ask, What were the circumstances under which they first appeared? Is not the degree of desuetude, which has overtaken them, justified, or even necessitated, by obvious convenience, by changes in legislation or public opinion, or national habits, or perhaps, by changes in the service-book itself? It would be found, probably, that a strict return to the system that gave these rubrics birth, even if it could be exactly ascertained, was quite impossible. The nation might resist, the legislature interpose. But suppose both quiescent, and the clergy unanimous

³⁰ Jer. vi. 16.

in approving all such alterations in public worship as possibly might find a legal standing, would not principles follow in the rear of practices? Would men who had struggled for the change rest contented with re-casting and increasing mere formalities? They really *could* not stop at such a point without incurring the discredit of a childish partiality for trifles. Hence their success must impel them onwards to inculcate such principles as Protestants generally disapprove.

But would all the Church now acquiesce, or even refrain from earnest endeavours to expose the weakness of these opinions? Would not also nonconformity be strengthened enormously, while churchmen were gradually surrendering Protestant ground, and hampering themselves with Romish arguments? Would our nation generally shut its old books, and believe the Bible unsafe reading, unless through glasses borrowed from tradition? There is no man who pauses to think, that would not answer negatively every one of these questions. There is no man who has looked into both sides of existing controversies, that considers the knowledge requisite for judging soundly of them, an every-day acquisition. Such an enquirer may, therefore, excusably say within himself, It must be safe and not unwise to stay where we at present are. The system in which we, and all whom we remember, or have heard of, lived and died, was founded in unquestionable knowledge. The few modifications

of it which have been adopted, were probably, or plainly, exacted by experience. Their foundation, then, is knowledge also, and the whole system has proved long “the stability of the times.”

THE END.

THE

ROMISH DECALOGUE.

BY

HENRY SOAMES, M.A.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pamphlet originated in a Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 1st of January, 1851. In preparing this for the press, many additions were made. At length, it seemed best to work up the whole mass of materials in the form of a theological essay.

Stapleford Tawney,
April 12. 1852.

THE

ROMISH DECALOGUE.

AN official document, dated at St. Peter's in Rome, on the 24th of September, 1850, professes to create a body of territorial officers, claiming secular distinctions, within the realm of England. As a ground for this assumption in a foreign power, it is declared that our Lord entrusted the government of his Church to the Roman see ; yet no proofs of any early acquiescence under such government are in existence. Such evidence of it as the dark ages received, has long since been branded in all quarters as forgery. Ancient Britain, it is clear, either knew nothing of it, or did not admit it. Her church was independent of the Roman bishop, and when he first sought to bring it under subjection, repudiated his interference. In fact, Christianity seems originally to have been planted on British ground by an Asiatic mission ; so that Rome can-

not safely remind Britain even of mere obligations in primitive times. The late papal brief, accordingly, does not go beyond a dark sort of hint, from which those who like it may infer that England somehow gained her first knowledge of the Saviour through the Roman see. Efforts, however, to insinuate something, and say nothing, appear to have been seen in all their hopelessness, when the time came for ushering in the late papal brief, under some decent plea of necessity. Rome had no talents for the vague and the mystificacious, equal to this. Any professor of such arts would be met at once by the fact,—notorious to all the world, and quite undeniable,—that Romish worship and opinions are allowed free course in England. None are forbidden to use all such means of spreading them as are open to every other description of Christians. Nobody wishes to deny Roman Catholics any of the rites that are usually administered in the West by men episcopally consecrated, or to cripple that episcopal jurisdiction under which they have long lived. No case, therefore, could be made out for the late experiment upon the forbearance of England's crown and people. It could not help coming before the world as a rash and unprovoked violation of propriety,—the wanton bravado of a foreign bishop and petty potentate, who could formally insult a friendly sovereign by pretending to erect an archbishopric in the very

city that contains her palace. Thus, within little more than twenty years, has the legislation which England abandoned in 1829 been accounted for and justified. One would scarcely have expected the explanation and vindication to have come so early. Yet so it has happened. Englishmen have not waited long to see their fathers acquitted of needless intolerance, and to see their own enlightened liberality grossly abused. They have no wish, and hope to have no occasion, to retrace their steps; but they have every occasion to see that respect for the rights of conscience be not made a tool for feeding the pride of an intrusive alien episcopate, and spreading popular delusion.

The Roman court assigns the following reasons for thinking them careless of these things:—The whole case has been considered. England contains many Romanists, of whom not a few have recently been gained over, and obstacles to further acquisitions appear to be daily giving way. Here is just enough to mislead a sanguine and half-informed speculator. Unquestionably, some English families did not embrace the Reformation, and never have accepted it since. To their body accessions have been gradually made by Romanists from abroad. But its chief increase has come from Irish labourers, who fill some of the lowest and most laborious employments in large towns. In a Romish riot these men are of some importance, but

at other times they are scarcely noticed. All these elements, however, form an aggregate very little seen or felt in English society. Even recent additions to the Romish body, from Protestant families, do little more than call up now and then expressions of pity and surprise. Very few of the parties ever had any weight, and all of them have lost ground immeasurably since they forsook the faith of their fathers. As for tendencies towards Romanism, which, no doubt, have told largely in the Papal court's consideration of the whole case, people who really know England will see her love for a scriptural religion to be quite above the reach of any danger from them. These tendencies have chiefly shown themselves in the junior clergy, and in a few others of the young, fitted for being easily taken by any thing that is new and imaginative, especially if it seem also aristocratic. Englishmen generally are not liable to infection from such quarters. Their minds are cast in a far sterner mould. Hence, coquetting with Rome has only called up popular disgust and opposition. It has engendered no general willingness to put up again with mediæval sacerdotalism, or to tolerate a theatrical worship, or to let picturesque romance thrust aside sober truth, or to sink practical holiness under ostentatious formalism. English common sense refuses to recognise the masters of a church in its ministers, or to suffer the intrusion

of these ministers upon the privacies of domestic life: it will not accept stage-players instead of Gospel preachers, or believe that God's Providence left certain revelations out of the record which contains all the rest. If an ordinary Englishman were told of some article of faith not in the Bible, he would ask, How came the only ascertainable repository of such articles to say nothing about this? He would see at once that mere human authority lies very open to human misapprehensions and motives. As for English scholarship, it is well aware that every peculiarity of the Romish creed has been thoroughly sifted by competent enquirers, and conclusively disproved. But although the great majority of Britons is quite above a traditional creed, yet any large society will supply a few that require protection from it, if something happen in its favour. Justice, therefore, to the weaker understandings, requires the stronger to be prepared, whenever Papal principles have gained some advantage, and been tempted by it into an offensive attitude.

Englishmen often suppose Romanism to be nothing else than one among the various modes of interpreting the Bible. The Council of Trent will show that opinion to be mistaken. It was a body, assembled unwillingly by the Roman bishop, because printing had laid Scripture open, and people all over Europe were eagerly consulting its pages

to see how much of their religion could be found there. Even Spain and Italy supplied many of these readers, who were greatly disappointed by the search, and who gave up in consequence the Church of Rome. This great and spreading defection alarmed the principal continental governments, and by them the Roman see was driven to assemble the Council of Trent. This body boldly disposed of the difficulty, by reducing the Bible to subserviency. It declared that Scripture and unwritten tradition were to *be received and venerated with sentiments of equal piety and reverence*.¹ But, obviously, there can be no equality in the case. Scripture is circumscribed, and capable of identification; tradition is neither one nor the other: Declare, therefore, unwritten traditions a divine revelation, as the Council of Trent does², and they are made the master of Scripture. The unlimited must be more than a match for the limited, and the unidentified more than a match for the identified. Protestantism stands upon no such slippery ground. It rejects tradition as an independent authority for articles of faith. The Church of England says distinctly: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that what-

¹ "Pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit" (sc. Trin. Synod.) "et veneratur."

² "Vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas." Conc. Trid. Sess. iv.

ever is not read therein, and may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith.”¹ Protestants, therefore, profess a scriptural creed; Romanists, a traditional one. Their traditions hold the Bible in chains, and will suffer neither it nor any thing else to interfere with the exercise of church authority. For understanding within a short compass how such a system can keep its hold upon mankind, few things can be considered more advantageously than the Decalogue. When glaring Romish corruptions come before Protestants, they at once declare such things impossible without a deficiency of religious knowledge. The Ten Commandments may serve to find a confirmation for this opinion. Englishmen may estimate from the treatment which those divine sanctions receive in the Roman Church the measure of religious information that she gives. Enquiry into the whole case will also show the reasons that can be found for giving her people no more. These reasons, too, will show the unsatisfactory nature of alleged religious traditions. Thus, a careful consideration of this very remarkable case, in all its bearings, may help Englishmen to a more accurate knowledge of the Romish system than they generally possess. That information will enable them also to see how far Italian divinity has any

¹ Art. VI.

claim for needless facilities to diffuse itself in the British Isles.

There is really no divine revelation that might seem more clearly to forbid human tampering than the Decalogue. Heaven runs through the whole of it. Even the material originally inscribed with it was divine. We read in Exodus: "And He wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the Ten Commandments."¹ It is Jehovah himself whose act Moses thus records. The great lawgiver of Israel says expressly so in another place.² The *Words of the Covenant* had, however, been written before, and by the same heavenly fingers. But in a more illustrious manner still. "The tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables."³ Undoubtedly these words requires some abatement. Every thing done was God's act. Jehovah willed throughout. Still angelic fingers worked. The proto-martyr Stephen expressly says that it was an *angel* who spake to Moses and the Israelites in Sinai.⁴ Other passages of Scripture confirm this view.⁵ Some divines have, indeed, understood by all such texts the eternal Son himself. But St. Stephen makes *Him* to have been *with* the angel in Sinai, and, upon the whole, it seems probable that our Lord's direct ad-

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 28.

² Deut. x. 4.

³ Exod. xxxii. 16.

⁴ Acts vii. 38.

⁵ Gal. iii. 19.; Heb. ii. 2.

dresses to men are not to be dated before his appearance as the blessed Virgin's progeny.¹ Such qualifications do not, however, take any thing from the strict accuracy of Moses, in describing both the tables and writing that he originally received as the workmanship of God. The lawgiver neither prepared the material nor engraved it. He merely received a heavenly record from heavenly hands. It might be entirely, for any thing that he knew, Jehovah's own work. It certainly was in the sense that human works are commonly ascribed to the parties ordering them. Though Moses, accordingly, might think, or even feel sure, that angelic services had been put into requisition, he could not speak otherwise than as he did.

Still, though he felt his hands to have received a burthen unquestionably divine, those very hands, after a brief interval, dashed it on the ground. By his own act it lay shivered at his feet. His long attendance on Jehovah allowed human fondness for idolatry to revive in all its force among the Israelites. Aaron lent himself to their weakness and corruption. Perhaps he thought some symbolical sort of worship a reasonable indulgence to the grosser apprehensions. This is, at all events, a reason for countenancing idolatry, that has been often given by people who are ashamed of it. Aaron's kinsmen evidently longed for some visible

¹ Heb. i. 2. Grotius. *Opp. Theol.* Armst. 1679, i. 35.

object as the personification of a protecting power. While their eyes rested upon Moses, they recognised in him a link between themselves and God's Providence.¹ But he had stayed long away, and no one could name a time for his return. Perhaps he might never be seen again. The people were quite unacquainted with such a state of things as this, and could not bear the prospect of it. Egypt's gorgeous idolatry, which still astonishes mankind by its remains, had until very lately been constantly before their eyes. Their lordly oppressors had never moved on any arduous undertaking without an array of superstitious grandeur at their head. The lately emancipated Hebrews pined for some such imaginary comfort in the difficult and hazardous undertaking that lay before them. Aaron felt for their uneasiness, and sought an alleviation for it by preparing a golden calf, which seems to have been a favourite symbol in the imposing rites of regretted Egypt. His workmanship no sooner met their eyes than the people danced and shouted with

¹ "Hanc esse idololatriæ originem, quod homines Deum sibi adesse non credunt, nisi carnaliter exhibeat se præsentem, prodit Israelitarum exemplum. *Nescimus, dicebant, quid isti Mosi contigerit: fac nobis deos qui nos præcedant.* Deum quidem esse noverant, cujus experti erant in tot miraculis; sed propinquum sibi esse non confidebant, nisi oculis cernerent corporeum vultus ejus symbolum, quod sibi testimonium esset gubernantis Dei. A præeunte ergo imagine volebant cognoscere Deum itineris sibi esse ducem." Calvin. *Inst.* i. xi. 8.

delight. But while they thus gave way to those joyous impulses which endeared Pagan worship to the heart of man, Moses came down from the sacred mount. He was altogether overcome by the scene that lay before him. God's judgments upon Egypt and her fictitious deities, appeared all thrown away. God's mercies might seem clean forgotten. A race yet scarce escaped from bondage of the body, evidently wished nothing less than freedom from bondage of the soul. The great lawgiver's equanimity was not proof against such base and senseless conduct. He could no longer carry God's own tables, written though they were under God's own order, by angelic fingers. Indignantly he threw them on the ground, and such workmanship as human hands had never borne before lay in the dust a mass of broken fragments. Idolatry stood branded by an act like this as ruin to the soul of man. Outraged heaven could, however, be appeased. Mercy prevailed over judgment, and Moses was again called up to receive "the words of the covenant." But a difference was now made as if to admonish Israel that it had committed a most grave offence. Moses was not on this occasion to expect a material that heavenly hands had prepared. He was to take up tables like those that had been broken. These, by God's power, were engraven as before.

Accounts of this transaction, and of the former

one, in which both tables and writing came from God, are to be found in Deuteronomy.¹ These two passages, like that in Exodus², assert that God made a covenant with his people, and upon ten conditions. Thus Moses expressly affirms, upon three several occasions, two distinct propositions. There was a covenant, and in it were ten stipulations. The covenant itself, however, is not appended to any one of the three passages which define the number of its conditions. But it is found in both Exodus and Deuteronomy.³ This is indisputable. In Exodus it is identified by the following words in the preceding chapter, which introduces it. God is addressing his chosen race, and he says: "Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep *my covenant*, then shall ye be a peculiar treasure to me above all people."⁴ In Deuteronomy, Moses prefaces the same conditions by saying: "The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb."⁵ Thus God's covenant with Israel is undoubtedly set forth in the Ten Commandments. Ten of them must be found, for Moses himself thrice makes them of that number. Over the finding of that number in them, he has, however, cast a slight shade of difficulty. Upon the two occasions, when particulars of the covenant

¹ Deut. iv. 13., x. 4.

² Exod. xxxiv. 8.

³ Exod. xx. 1.; Deut. v. 6.

⁴ Exod. xix. 5.

⁵ Deut. v. 2.

are given, he does not use exactly the same words. He has made also a trifling variation in arrangement, and has thereby given an opportunity for the making of a fresh enumeration. He concludes the series, both in Exodus and Deuteronomy, by prohibiting all coveting of another's temporal goods. But in one case the coveting of a man's wife stands in the second place, in the other it stands in the first.

Nothing might seem less material than this transposition; but it is connected with strange results. Before they are considered, a distinction between the two accounts, given in the Pentateuch, should be observed. In Exodus, we have an original record; in Deuteronomy, a report of it worked up into a speech. Now a record and a speech might slightly differ, even in the same hands, as they were in this case. A speaker's memory might not be strictly accurate in the hurry of delivery, or he might half-intentionally have allowed himself in some little variations that did not affect the sense. It is obvious, therefore, that where strict accuracy is required, an authentic record should be taken in preference to the report of a speech. This, accordingly, has been done by the Anglican Reformers, in the communion service and the catechism. In the latter, the commandments are introduced by an express declaration that they came from the twentieth chapter of Exodus. Whether

this announcement was made advisedly to meet an existing abuse is needless to inquire. Of its expediency that abuse leaves no question.

The slight variations between record and speech make no real difference in the matter delivered by Moses. He repeatedly declares it to be comprised in ten articles, and inquirers therefore naturally seek exactly that number; each article having a definite character of its own. Both record and speech equally allow that number to be easily found if the last thing forbidden be comprised in a single article. Now coveting is the thing forbidden from the prohibition of false witness to the end of the Decalogue. Take, therefore, the stipulation against coveting as a single article, and exactly the same number of conditions is found in God's covenant that Moses assigns to it. First, we find a prohibition of treating as divine any other being than God himself; secondly, Jehovah stipulates that no visible objects, whether made by himself or by man, shall receive any religious worship or veneration whatsoever; thirdly, he stipulates against profanation of his holy name; fourthly, against sabbath-breaking; fifthly, against irreverence to parents; sixthly, against murder; seventhly, against adultery; eighthly, against stealing; ninthly, against false witness; and tenthly, against coveting. Here, then, are obvious marks of ten distinct stipulations or prohibitions. Recog-

nise in each of them a character of its own, and the great lawgiver's matter is reconciled at once with his numerical representation of it.

Take it as a covenant, which is the representation given to it, and it amounts to a promise of God's blessing so long as the Israelites continued sound in religion and morality. The ten stipulations really embrace all the mainsprings of both. If, however, Israel would not keep these conditions, God's covenant was broken, and his blessing consequently forfeited. The people could forget this connexion between cause and effect; but God never could. He was "ever mindful of his covenant."¹ When false gods and accommodating principles were thrust aside, Israel prospered. But when gaudy, joyous Paganism got the upper hand, lax, or even vicious practice found grave apologists, and will-worship drove out real holiness: then foreign enemies quickly avenged God's quarrel. His covenant was broken, and his blessing gone.

We have St. Paul's authority for saying that ancient Israel's experience of such judgments "happened unto them for ensamples, and are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come."² Nor does the chosen race only speak to later times by its history. The very stipulations in God's covenant with it have been treated as if made with all mankind. Christians

¹ Ps. cxi. 5.

² 1 Cor. x. 11.

as well as Jews have based popular instruction upon the Decalogue. They have taken it as a summary of that moral law, or natural religion, which is universally and perpetually binding. Its covenanting character may not, perhaps, have been much insisted upon under the new dispensation. But still, people have been trained in habits of looking to the Ten Commandments for conditions on which God's blessings may reasonably be expected. This really amounts to a belief that all Christians have an offer of the same terms, or some very much like them, that once were offered to the house of Israel. There is every reason for believing this. Providence is continually seen to favour those who live according to the Decalogue. While habitual breakers of it are among such as pass the most unhappily through life.

Thus religious teachers are fully justified in their unanimous view of the Ten Commandments as meant for all mankind. But in their modes of placing them before mankind they have not been unanimous. Divines of the Roman school have taken care to remind readers that ancient Israel was excessively given to idolatry.¹ Calvin derides Romish authorities for this care, and cites St. Paul's address to the Athenians as evidence that the Jews of old were not peculiar in their

¹ "Propensissimi erant ad idololatriam." Bellarm. *Controvv. De Reliquis*. § vii. A.

idolatrous propensities.¹ Nevertheless, upon a loose assumption of some such peculiarity in their case, and of special circumstances, speculations have been raised in the early Christian Church as to modes of dividing the Decalogue. A considerable portion of it has been treated as of a positive nature, and especially provided for ancient Israel. This treatment has operated most strikingly upon the opening matter of the Ten Commandments. All in them, down to the prohibition of taking God's name in vain, has been pronounced a connected prohibition of Idolatry. But idolatry, we are truly reminded, comprises two acts, one of them being interior or an act of faith, the other exterior or an act of worship. To its interior portion is referred the opening words of the Decalogue: to its exterior, those that immediately follow, and which prohibit all worship and religious veneration of created objects.² Upon these views has been engrafted an opinion that most of the matter which precedes the prohibition of taking God's name in vain is no part of that moral law

¹ Acts xvii. 29. He goes on to cite Austin, and adds, "Unde rursus palam apparet, frivolo cavillo elabi imaginum patronos, qui obtundunt *Judæis fuisse vetitas*, quod ad superstitionem proclives erant." *Inst.* I. xi. 2.

² "Cum enim dicitur *Non habebis Deos alienos*, prohibetur actus interior idololatriæ: cum autem additur *Non facies tibi sculptile*, &c., prohibetur actus exterior." Bellarm. *Controvv. De Reliquu.* § vii. A.

which is of perpetual and universal obligation. It is considered a positive command, especially provided against the besetting weakness of ancient Israel. Thus a large portion of no long document, generally thought in most respects to be perpetually binding, is placed very much upon a temporary footing. For even the Jews abstained from external idolatry after the Babylonish captivity. By referring so much of the Decalogue to their wants before that time, an opening has been made for some remarkable results. Among these is a practice of taking everything from the beginning of the Ten Commandments down to the prohibition of taking God's name in vain, not only as a comprehensive prohibition of idolatry, but also as one single Commandment. This practice can be traced up to the close of the second century; when Clement of Alexandria gave some countenance to it.¹ In the fourth century it was countenanced by

¹ "Porro illud, *Non concupisces*, vel debet dividi in duo: ut 9. sit *Non concupisces uxorem alienam*: 10. *Non concupisces rem alienam*: vel ista omnia ad unum pertinent. Si debet dividi in duo, ergo illud, *Non facies tibi sculptile*, erit undecimum, vel oportet dicere, illum non esse præceptum distinctum a primo, ut revera dicunt Clemens Alexandr. lib. 6. Strom. August. 9. 71. in Exod. epist. 119. cap. 11. et communiter Scholast. 3. sentent. distinct. 37. et Catechismi omnes Latini." (Ibid. B.). "Clement then proceeds to interpret the several precepts, and in his enumeration appears to confound the first and second together; for he makes the prohibition to take God's name in vain the second, and the command to observe the seventh day the third. There is, however, reason to

Austin, but with some degree of inconsistency. Still his authority stood so very high, that its uncertainty in this case awakened no scruples in the schoolmen, and from them the practice of making only one Commandment out of all God's provisions against idolatry has passed into the ordinary Catechisms of the Latin Church. The ancient Jewish Church affords no sanction to this practice whatsoever; but calls the prohibition of taking God's name in vain, the third commandment.¹ That

suspect some corruption of the text; for he calls the command to honour parents the fifth." (Bp. Kaye's *Clement*. Lond. 1835, p. 377.). In another place, however, Clement calls the sabbatical commandment the third. *Ib.* 416.

¹ "'Tis certain, that images or pictures were no where appointed by God to be helps to devotion. 'Tis as evident, that the second commandment forbids the making of images for religious intentions: it forbids not only the grosser acts of adoration and service to graven images, but all the appearances and occasions of idolatry. The Romanists, being condemned by this Command, have impiously expunged it; and that they may seem innocent herein, allow but three commands to the first table, and seven to the second table, to which end they split the tenth into two. In this division they pretend to follow Austin, who assigns three commands to the first table, to illustrate the mystery of the Trinity, and seven to the second table. Herein Austin differs not only from other Fathers, Athanasius, Origen, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, but from himself, who, in another place, follows the received division. Which was the ancient division received in the Jewish Church, as appears from Philo, who affirms the second command forbids the *forming of Gods out of creatures, by the deceitful arts of painters and statuaries*. The same division is observed by Josephus." Owen's *Hist. of Images and Image-Worship*. Lond. 1709, p. 4.

which it calls the fourth has also been considered as an especial provision for the chosen race. Nor can it be denied that the commandment, as it stands, which enjoins the observance of the sabbath, has something of a positive, and even of a ceremonial character.¹ Still its general tenor entitles it to a place in a summary of natural religion. Men will never fall into pious habits without a regular time for the cultivation of them. Hence a reservation of this kind is a natural duty. Nor are the necessities of the case likely to be answered by less than a seventh portion of human time. Religious bodies have indeed ordinarily claimed more. The positive and ceremonial character of the sabbatical commandment must, therefore, lie in the particular day which it indicates. In its general principle it has accordingly been pronounced of universal application.² Nor, besides the evident reasonableness of this view, are considerations wanting for an

¹ "Inter præcepta Decalogi est unum cæremoniale, scilicet, *Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices*. Aquinas. *Prima Secundæ*. Quæst. 100.; Art. 3.

² "Præceptum de observatione sabbati est secundum aliquid morale, in quantum scilicet per hoc præcipitur quod homo aliquo tempore vacet rebus divinis, secundum illud Psalm 48. *Vacate et videte quoniam ego sum Deus*, et secundum hoc inter præcepta Decalogi computatur, non autem quantum ad taxationem temporis, quia secundum hoc est cæremoniale." (*Ib.* Concl.). "The decalogue may be binding in *substance*, though not wholly so as to *circumstances*." Hey's *Lectures in Divinity*. Camb. 1841, ii. 12.

implicit acceptance of it. In few particulars does Providence appear to act more clearly upon a covenant with man than in this. Breakers of the Christian sabbath are notorious for wanting the divine blessing. So much stress has, however, been sometimes laid upon the alteration of the day, that upon this account the sabbatical commandment has even been represented as improperly ranked, under the new dispensation, among integral members of the Decalogue.¹

Thus, authorities may be found for placing in a secondary rank the two largest portions of the Ten Commandments, as no parts of the moral law but positive precepts, more or less inapplicable to Christian times.² But, whatever weight may be given to these views, it is obvious that both of them open the door to a difficulty. How is the matter of Moses to be reconciled with his enumeration? The sabbatical part of this question may be answered, first, because it requires little notice, no usage having

¹ Aquinas. *Prima Secundæ*. Quæst. 100.; Art. 4. Concl.

² Grotius argues that God's prohibition of graven images was a positive precept, because the same divine authority ordered sculptured cherubim. But it should never be forgotten, that these were to be seen only by the high priest, and by him only once in a year. The learned Hollander then proceeds to say: "Positiva autem illa quæ fuere in lege veteri, et nihil ad mores pertinentia, sed Judæos separantia a Gentilium institutis, nihil obligant Christianos, non magis quam lex Sabbati, quæ et ipsa in Decalogo est posita." *Opp. Theol.* iv. 624.

given it importance. The difficulty, then, was met in this case by taking the words, "I am the Lord thy God" as the first commandment; "Thou shalt have no other gods but me" as the second¹; "Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven image," as the third; "Thou shalt not take the Lord's name in vain," as the fourth. The six Commandments which concern our neighbour were left untouched; and in this way the sabbatical commandment is not required for making up the number to ten.²

¹ It is obvious, that the words "I am the Lord thy God," cannot be properly called a commandment, but only a declaration introductory to one. The purport of them seems to be, that Jehovah himself, the Great Supreme, who created all things, declares himself to have been the sole deliverer of ancient Israel from Egyptian bondage, and by implication, the only first cause of all human deliverance. It follows from this that his chosen people acted wrongly in attributing their deliverance, either wholly or partially, to any supposed created mediators who might have interest with Omnipotence, and who might be symbolised by golden calves, or any thing else. Upon this declaration is built a prohibition of all belief in such supposed mediators, and of their assumed interest with the Great Supreme. This declaration and consequent prohibition, are not only fatal to the deification of ancient times, but also to the canonisation of modern times, and to the principles and practices to which these two things have respectively led.

² "Præcepta Decalogi diversimode a diversis distinguuntur. Esitius in Lev. 26. super illud, *Decem mulieres in uno clibano coquunt panes*, dicit præceptum de sabbato non esse de Decem Præceptis: quia non est observandum secundum literam secundum omne tempus. Distinguit tamen quatuor Præcepta pertinentia ad Deum, ut primum sit, *Ego sum Dominus Deus*

The other case, which makes the prohibition of a polytheistic faith and the prohibition of an idolatrous worship, merely two sections of a single Commandment, is helped by the speech of Moses as reported by himself in Deuteronomy. This places the coveting of our neighbour's wife before the coveting of any other earthly good belonging to him. Than such a transposition nothing could be more opportune to those who wanted a new way of making up the Commandments to their necessary number. Austin tacitly relies upon it as an evidence that God provided a separate prohibition for the coveting of a wife.¹ It might seem a strange want of caution in such a man to catch at a very dubious countenance from a speech when he had access to an authentic record. But he was entangled by a theory, and when men are so they are commonly off their guard. Undoubtedly he might silence any misgivings, and probably did, for it is

tuus : secundum sic, *Non habebis deos alienos coram me* ; et sic distinguit hæc duo Hier. Osee. 10. super illud, *Propter duas iniquitates tuas*. Tertium vero Præceptum esse dicit, *Non facies tibi sculptile*. Quartum vero, *Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum*. Pertinentia vero ad proximum dicit esse sex, ut primum sit, *Honora patrem et matrem tuam*. Secundum, *Non occides*. Tertium, *Non mæchaberis*. Quartum, *Non furtum facies*. Quintum, *Non falsum testimonium dices*. Sextum, *Non concupisces*. Aquin. *Prim. Sec. Quæst.* 100. Art. 4. Concl.

¹ "August. ponit duo præcepta de non concupiscendo rem alienam, et uxorem alienam." *Id.*

the usage in suspicious cases, by leaning upon a precedent. In this way abuses take root. One eminent man gives them some sort of encouragement, because he thereby meets a prejudice of his own, or a fashion of his day. For some such worthless reasons, another, perhaps more eminent still, follows his example and justifies himself by it. In time, the patronage of such illustrious persons, being backed by popular acquiescence and material interests, is erected into an unassailable prescription. Thus it has happened with God's prohibition of coveting. Austin has been regularly considered by the Roman Church a sufficient authority for making two prohibitions out of it and providing a separate commandment for each. But as the record in Exodus is not favourable to this view, it obviously tends to throw a difficulty over the enumeration of the Commandments. Unless the prohibition of an idolatrous worship be merged in that of a polytheistic faith, there will be eleven of them. If this be done, and coveting is comprised in a single commandment, as there is great reason for doing, there will be only nine of them. Now, the former case may be shaken by Aquinas himself. That very learned and candid schoolman cites Origen, as an authority for making the prohibition of a polytheistic faith one commandment, and the prohibition of an idolatrous worship another.¹ Now

¹ "Origenes vero distinguens etiam quatuor præcepta ordi-

Origen is a more ancient Father than Austin. If every Father, therefore, have his due weight, not only two commandments will be made of God's prohibition of every thing that is idolatrous, but also another two out of his prohibition of coveting. Thus, antiquity must have no voice unless where it is convenient in reckoning up the commandments; or eleven of them will be found in a summary universally known as the Decalogue. Nay, more, it has been already seen that ancient authority may be produced for finding even twelve. Nothing further is needed for this purpose, than to separate, as has actually been done, the declaratory from the prohibitory words at the opening of God's covenant. But, however completely in this way all the claims of ecclesiastical antiquity may be reconciled and respected, such an adjustment is forbidden by the written Word. Tradition cannot face an express declaration by Moses. He says, in three several places, that the Commandments are ten in number. This is conclusive. No one, accordingly, pretends to make them either more or less.

To the current expedients for finding exactly that number in them, and yet making one commandment where God's ancient Church made two, and making two commandments where it made one,

nantia ad Deum, ponit ista duo" (the declaratory and prohibitory portions of the first Commandment) "pro uno præcepta: secundum vero ponit *Non facies sculptile.*" *Ib.*

there are obvious objections. It is true, that God opens his covenant by stipulating both against an idolatrous faith and an idolatrous worship. But still these two things may be rather closely, than necessarily, connected with each other. They may be, and are, branches of the same thing, but may exist apart. This is especially the case with the former of them. An idolatrous cast of mind may find room in heads that are too subtle for any of the grosser features of idolatry. Hence God might have intentionally met these two things, because he knew them to require meeting, by separate prohibitions, or stipulations. Again: the reasons are subtle rather than solid, which draw distinction between the coveting of another man's wife and the coveting of any thing else among his worldly goods. Candid scholars, in fact, however partial they may be to such distinctions, cannot refrain from admitting that St. Paul speaks of coveting as if it were prohibited by a single commandment.¹ Undoubtedly, the Apostle merely followed Jewish authorities in this; but in doing so, he gave them the sanction of inspiration. In his turn, he is followed by Origen, Jerome, Ambrose, and other eminent lights of Christian antiquity.² Nor will any deny

¹ Rom. vii. 7.; xiii. 9. "Omnis concupiscentia convenit in una communi ratione, et ideo Apostolus singularitur de mandato concupiscendi loquitur." Aquin. *ut supra*.

² "Si autem, *Non concupisces*, est unum tantum, ut existimant Philo in lib. de Decalogo, ante medium, Joseph. lib. 3.

that all kinds of coveting earthly goods may very properly class together. By so classing them, that separate character is given to the closing member of the Decalogue, which is broadly stamped upon every other member of it. They really are so classed even by the authorised Roman Catechism, prepared by the Catechetical Committee, nominated at the Council of Trent, and sanctioned afterwards by papal authority. That manual, indeed, represents coveting as prohibited in two Commandments, yet it puts these two together. Their substance also is taken from the record in Exodus, and not from the speech in Deuteronomy, which the Vulgate renders, by no means favourably to the Roman arrangement. Hence the neighbour's wife is mentioned after his house. The Catechism likewise admits that both kinds of coveting have a certain similarity of character. It leaves, accordingly, individual clergymen to weigh the expediency of

Antiquit. cap. 6 et 8. Orig. hom. 8 in Exod. Ambrosius et Hieronymus, in cap. 6. ad Ephesi. Procopius et Rupertus in cap. 20 Exodi. Tunc illa omnia verba erant unum præceptum. (Bellarm. *De Reliquis*. § vii. C.). The Cardinal is further involving the question as to the number of the commandments by throwing out a suggestion, that *Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven image, &c.*, may be possibly separated so as to make another commandment, from *Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them*. He truly observes that such a separation would make eleven commandments. But he infers that the making is not forbidden simply, but only when the images are meant for worship. Thus the whole matter has a single object.

taking the two kinds together, or of separating them in their ordinary teaching.¹

This discretion amounts to an abandonment of the question really at issue, as to the close of the Decalogue. With a similar question as to its opening the case is very different. The question of enumeration

¹ “Sed quanquam hæc duo præcepta conjunxerimus, propterea quod, cum non dissimile sit eorum argumentum, eandem docendi viam habent: Parochus tamen et cohortando et monendo poterit communiter, vel separatim, ut commodius sibi videbiter, ea tractare.” (*Catechismus ad Parochos*. Nonum et Decimum Præc. Decal. ii.) It should be observed, that the authorised English version of Scripture may seem to countenance some distinction in the case of coveting. Exodus has, “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours wife:” Deuteronomy, “Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour’s wife.” The verses which contain these words also contain the word *covet* twice besides. Upon every one of these four occasions, the Septuagint has *epithumeeseis*. The Vulgate has, in Exodus, “Non concupisces domum proximi tui, nec desiderabis uxorem ejus:” in Deuteronomy, “Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui, non domum, non agrum,” &c. Thus the authorised Romish Bible really makes less of a double commandment out of the prohibition of coveting, as it is reported in Deuteronomy, than the English does. The original Hebrew uses the same word for *covet* in both the Exodus cases. In the Deuteronomy cases, this word is used for the wife, but another word is used for the house. This causes the conduct of the English translators to be rather remarkable, and to look like an excess of candour. The very word which they have twice translated in Exodus *covet*, they have translated *desire* in Deuteronomy. While the word which varies from *covet*, in Deuteronomy, they have rendered *covet*. Grotius, on Deuteronomy (v. 21.), says that the two words have the same force, and it is plain that the Septuagint translators thought so.

there has led to a practice of suppression. The enumerating system that looks up to Clement and Austin makes the first commandment disproportionately long; and much of it being arbitrarily disposed of, as meant particularly for the ancient Jews, it is reduced to some symmetrical sort of shape, by retrenching all this portion. Thus a Decalogue is produced, which prohibits, indeed, a polytheistic faith, but says nothing against an idolatrous worship. Now, the former matter may be easily mystified, and misunderstood. But Moses has left such clear and stringent provisions against the latter, that even very moderate understandings are in no very great danger of overlooking them.

The necessity for provisions of this kind is clearly shown by many continental churches. One of their most conspicuous features are graven images, often gaudily draped and ornamented, — lights about them, incense mounting up above them, worshippers on their knees before them. Undoubtedly such toys and worship might find admirers in any large community, but not among the more masculine understandings. No country, therefore, is put in fair possession of religious truth which does not habitually see in its full integrity God's prohibition of idolatry. It has never been denied, or can be, that vulgar and weak minds are liable to be led by image-worship to the very verge of paganism. All that Christians who think images

desirable in churches have to say, when great evils from them cannot be overlooked, is to throw blame upon the clergy for not teaching their congregations better.¹ But God proceeds in a very different way. Besides prohibiting the evil, he prohibits likewise all temptations to it. If man had imitated him in this, Romish churches would never have been furnished as they often are. An idolatrous cast of mind, or a taste for petty frippery, would have vainly thought of such attractions for them if the Decalogue had been kept in sight. Common sense could never get rid of God's own words, "Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven image, nor any likeness of any thing, not worship one, not bow down to one." In the face of such language, the sights which startle English eyes in continental places of worship would certainly not have been there. In countries, accordingly, where churches thus astonish a Protestant, catechisms, and other provisions for popular instruction, leave out of the Decalogue all that stands between the prohibition of more gods than one, and the prohibition of taking God's name in vain. Of any omission, however, the great bulk of those who habitu-

¹ See a passage translated from Mabillon, in the author's *Latin Church*, p. 291. note 1. The Catechism of the Council of Trent also admits that the people are liable to be *depraved* in the matter of images *by the frauds and fallacies of the enemy of the human race*, and therefore, recommends the clergy to be careful in correcting any evil of this kind. *Catech. ad Pa- rochos*, iii. 29.

ally see God's house decked out with images are quite unaware. If even well-informed people in Romish countries ever hear that such a liberty has been taken with the Ten Commandments, they turn away with incredulous and half-indignant surprise.

Man is not, however, so much insulted by the deception thus practised on him as he is betrayed. But God is insulted. Undoubtedly, if long prescription can justify the creature in dealing thus with his Creator, such a justification is at hand. Decalogues that say nothing of graven images were put forth a thousand years, or more, ago. But are modern times to stand excused in continuing one of the boldest omissions within human knowledge, because modern times are not responsible for the beginning of it? An inveterate practice of garbling the Ten Commandments must surely be an inveterate abuse: nay, rather, an inveterate presumption. Man cannot be warranted in saying that a large and striking portion of God's own covenant,—engraven, too, in the first instance, by angelic fingers,—was chiefly meant for some temporary purpose. No one says this of that covenant generally. Nor can any one say that very good reasons may not exist for putting weak and ignorant people strictly upon their guard against image-worship. Nor, again, can any one be sure that God does not look upon his covenant as broken wherever image-worship gains full possession of the

public mind. Unquestionably it is linked with social evils in countries thoroughly given up to the religious use of images. The most flourishing communities are those which keep from no one God's prohibition of all worship of fabricated objects, and in which, accordingly, that sort of worship is little known. A public wrong is therefore done where this member of the Decalogue is not allowed its proper place. The suppression of it may also deprive individuals of a corrective which their particular cases urgently required, and which would not have spoken to their consciences in vain. An uninformed mind and an imaginative temperament are very open to the gross, the gaudy, and the sensual in religion. But still, the bulk of such minds and temperaments might have been kept free from a piety of this kind, if the parties had only been aware of God's provisions against it in the Decalogue.

For the injustice put upon such parties by their exclusion from a due knowledge of the Decalogue Clement of Alexandria and Austin of Hippo are only partially responsible. Neither of these fathers was disposed for any compromise with idolatry. Clement represents even the manufacture of images as forbidden to Christians by the Decalogue.¹ But

¹ "Clemens Alexandrinus, qui circa annum Domini 200 vixit, lib. 6. Stromatum inquit, *Nobis nullum est simulachrum in mundo. Quoniam in rebus genitis nihil potest Dei referre*

Clement looked upon that summary with a philosopher's eye. A leading object with him was to conciliate superior heathen life, and make it Christian.¹ Now, intelligent, well-bred heathenism was averse from severe attacks upon the veneration of images. The philosophers disclaimed any such veneration themselves, but considered it so interwoven with weak and vulgar minds that its total extirpation was hopeless.² Hence they could stoop to a seeming respect for images, as a wise and liberal concession to popular infirmity.³ When Austin wrote, specious reasons for tenderness towards pa-

imaginem. Et in Parænetico scribit, *Nobis aperte vetitum est artem fallacem exercere: scriptum enim est, not facies cujusvis rei similitudinem, &c.*" Chemnitz. *Exam. Conc. Trid.* iv. 24.

¹ "The work of St. Clement of Alexandria, called *Stromata*, or *Tapestry-work*, from the variety of its contents, well illustrates the primitive Church's mode of instruction, as far as regards the educated portion of the community. It had the distinct object of interesting and conciliating the learned heathen who perused it." "Clement's *Stromata* was written with the design of converting the learned heathen." Newman's *Arians*, 53. 74.

² Maximus Tyrius represents images as useless *perhaps* to superior intellects, but since people of this kind are rare among men, as judicious expedients for conveying important truths to the great bulk of human beings. *Dissert.* 38. Lugd. Bat. 1614, p. 379.

³ Origen pronounces it a folly, not only to pray to images, but also to humour the masses so far as to make a show of praying to them: which, he says, the Peripatetic philosophers did, and likewise the followers of Epicurus and Democritus. *Contra Celsum.* Cantab. 1658, p. 375.

ganism had multiplied ten-fold. Half-reclaimed heathens formed a large portion of the Christian body. Among the learned and noble, many yet retained a strong affection for the religion of their fathers. It could plead a venerable antiquity, wide extension, accommodating doctrines, and an attractive ceremonial. No wonder that it was the patrician's pride and the plebeian's delight! No wonder that popular opinion attributed the sacking of Rome, by northern barbarism, to the anger of the gods for insults heaped upon them by apostate Christians! It was to combat this favourite view of the imperial city's fall, that Austin wrote his famous *City of God*. Such a writer, at such a time, could scarcely fail of making any concession that seemed small and unimportant, yet likely to soothe the irritation, and soften down the prejudices of still powerful paganism. Ordinarily he could offer it a firm resistance. Even Bellarmine produces three several passages from him against images, from their tendency to mislead weak minds.¹ Answers

¹ "Ut B. Augustinus ait, epist. 49. *Cum his sedibus locantur honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque immolantibus attendantur, ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum, atque sensuum, quamvis sensu et anima careant, afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere et spirare videantur.*" The second citation is not so strong, but the third very well says, *Plus valent simulachra ad curvandam infelicem animam, quod os, oculos, aures, pedes habent, quam ad corrigendam.* Bellarm. *De Imagg. SS.* ix. C.

to him here the Cardinal produces none. He merely seeks to nullify his words by asserting that *images of saints can no where be better placed than in churches*.¹ For fortifying this assertion statements undoubtedly are made, but they are either irrelevant or fictitious.²

When a great man can say nothing better, he must have undertaken some hopeless task. And when two famous Fathers give him help, though it is rather doubtfully, they show how much inspired authority surpasses uninspired. They are sheltering a suppression which they never thought of, that shelters practices of which they certainly would have disapproved. Inspired authorities never can be used in this way against themselves and against other inspired authorities. The Bible came from several pens, employed upon various occasions, and at very considerable intervals of time. Yet, it forms a volume which bears the impress of a single mind in every part. Evidently, too, this mind was possessed of perfect foresight. Hence, not only do all the holy penmen condemn idolatry, and every approach to it, but also the earliest of them repeatedly speaks of *Ten* Conditions in God's great Covenant with man. When Moses gives the Cove-

¹ *Ib.* p. 316. C.

² The fabulous life of Sylvester is cited for images erected by Constantine, and other citations are produced from better authorities, but little or nothing to the purpose. *Ib.* p. 315.

nant itself he says nothing of number. Just as if he saw no great necessity for any numerical fence. But among the terms that God insists upon stands a stringent prohibition of all images and similitudes in religious worship. It is not likely that Moses foresaw such a future fondness for that worship, among those who had scripture for their guide, as would strike out God's own words. That fondness, however, and in its rear, that boldness, came to pass. But, in striking out one of God's conditions, religious authorities ran a fearful risk. Ten conditions must be found, and expedients for making up the number when one of them is really wanting, can only answer for a time. It may be a long time, and it has been. But our blessed Lord himself has told us, "There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be known."¹ When this prophecy shall be fulfilled as to the suppressed portion of the Decalogue, men will turn to the enumerating clauses left by Moses, and say: "Behold a greater than 'Moses' is here."² In writing as he did, he shows himself undoubtedly to have been "one of" those "holy men of God" who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."³ Not only does all that he wrote cohere admirably with all that every other inspired penman has written, but also in talking repeatedly

¹ St. Matt. x. 26.

² St. Luke, xi. 32.

³ 2 St. Pet. i. 21.

of Ten Commandments he has provided for contingencies that his own times could scarcely have foreseen. Devices for covering the suppression of one among the stipulations on which God promises his blessing, will make that one additionally effective when the truth becomes generally known.

Many, then, will think that fear and shame long made leading churchmen keep their congregations in the dark; nor will those who willingly would lay the blame entirely on precedent and antiquity, be able to deny that religious knowledge was dealt out with a niggard hand: certainly a Church, which cuts off one whole prohibition from the Decalogue, cannot safely address her children as St. Paul did his congregation at Miletus, "I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God."¹ She might say, and undoubtedly would, in that apostle's words a little before, "I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you."² In sealing up God's prohibition of graven images, and of all similitudes in religion, she professes to have merely looked upon her children as "babes in Christ:"³ Jehovah's utter impatience of image worship being treated as the "strong meat which belongeth to them who are of full age, even those who, by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."⁴ It might undoubtedly be set aside, if

¹ Acts, xx. 27.

² Acts, xx. 20.

³ 1 Cor. iii. 1.

⁴ Heb. v. 14.

this view be true, as meant for some temporary end, and hence now cumbersome in a summary which requires to be as brief as possible. But if such pleas really be well founded, how came this prohibition into the Decalogue? Every thing else in that summary is fit for "babes in Christ." Nothing was ever so fit. All the world acknowledges this. What mortal then can be justified in picking out a long well-defined portion from a summary,—confessedly of the highest practical importance, and divine besides,—under an assumption that its day of usefulness is gone? Surely, such an assumption cannot be among self-evident truths. But suppose it highly probable, that is no good reason for keeping the matter, thought now by some of little use, entirely out of ordinary observation. All the world admires the Decalogue, and all the world has a right to know it in its full integrity. Let every man judge and feel for himself as to every part of it. An injustice is put upon that individual who has cause to say, I have not had "all the counsel of God," fairly set before me.

Where none can say so, religious truth being freely published in its full integrity, no head or heart is left without a fair prospect of that instruction which it needs. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God,"¹ nor is there any other than that Omniscient giver who truly and fully knows "what is

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16.

in man.”¹ When the Spirit of Truth guided a holy penman’s hand, he saw where to stop, and where to go on. In the Decalogue, there was no guidance at all. It was God’s own writing. And he did not stop in it after prohibiting man to treat in a godlike manner any other being than himself. The Holy Spirit went on, and prohibited every shade of image-worship. When he thus unfolded all his meaning,—“Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?”²—Shall things created take upon themselves to say, that angelic fingers were then employed merely upon some temporary and local end? Experience will confirm no such view. It certainly will find no restricted range for the divine prohibition of graven images. Never have such objects influenced religion without lowering its quality. They have been defended as necessary concessions to human ignorance and weakness. But gross and imaginative minds have always been the worse for them. A people enamoured of them have ever been the prey of absurdities and impostures. Thus the commandment against image-worship wears no appearance of a temporary or local character. It guards against a weakness which seems inherent in the human mind. Let not literary trifling, then, upon the numerical designation of this commandment,

¹ St. John, ii. 25.

² Rom. xi. 34.

find any shelter for the suppression of it. Such liberty, or licentiousness more properly, augments the spiritual difficulties of human nature. It leaves man without a guide, exactly where all ages have shown him urgently to need one.

It also mutilates a perfect record of the moral law. Sufficient knowledge of this code is invaluable to man, because his happiness and improvement depend upon obedience to it. Nor is he at any loss to discern most of its claims upon him. He recognises them at once, as integral parts of his duty to society and himself. Some of his natural obligations, however, may be overlooked, unless they are pointed out and considered.¹ To honour parents, abstain from murder, adultery, stealing, and false-witness, are sanctions of the moral law which the human mind approves, as if instinctively.² To them St. Paul adds the prohibition of coveting³, as if they were inseparably connected with this vice. By doing so the Apostle not only echoes the De-

¹ "Quædam enim sunt in humanis actibus adeo explicita, quod statim cum modica consideratione possunt approbari vel reprobari per illa communia et prima principia. Quædam vero sunt ad quorum judicium requiritur multa consideratio diversarum circumstantiarum." Aquinas, *Prim. Sec. Quæst.* 100. Art. 1. Concl.

² "Quædam enim sunt, quæ statim per se ratio naturalis cujuslibet hominis dijudicat esse facienda, vel non facienda, sicut *Honora patrem tuum et matrem*; et *Non occides*, *Non furtum facies*, et hujusmodi sunt absolute de lege naturæ." *Ib.*

³ Rom. xiii. 9.

calogue, but also records a principle of Natural Religion. For coveting lies at the root of social evils. But without a little thought, people do not see this. Nor do they see the inherent claims upon man for his own sake, of those commands in the Decalogue, which directly concern religion. Yet all of them act most importantly upon the moral and material interests of mankind. Hence, obedience to every one of them is really an instinct of self-preservation. But it is an instinct which requires to be awakened. Thus, although man readily discerns an inherent obligation to recognise the Deity, he wants reflection to convince him that creation must have sprung from a single intelligence. He wants it also to make him feel that his own advantage requires him to keep up an habitual sense of the Great Supreme's unity, and other essential attributes. Again: he does not see at once that such a sense is blunted by the taking of God's name in vain; nor, besides, that it cannot be maintained in an effective state, without a regular appropriation of time to the public worship of God. But it is easy to see that natural religion can demand no excessive appropriation; it can only call for time enough. Now, it is exactly this which is done by the Sabbatical commandment. Hence, due consideration will readily place that commandment among sanctions of the moral law.

But man's duty to himself and society does more

than require him to be religious. He does not adequately consult his own interest without also being very particular as to the quality of his religion. Due provision is made for his wants in this respect by the Decalogue. That summary prohibits image-worship. St. Paul will tell us why. He saw that sort of piety under the most favourable circumstances, for he saw it among communities highly civilised. Its operation upon them both intellectually and morally he describes as highly disadvantageous. "They changed," he says, "the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beasts, and creeping things."¹ It showed a strange inaptitude for worthy conceptions of the Deity, to figure him even in the noblest human forms; but nothing could be more senseless than to symbolise him from the lower animals. Yet nations "professing themselves to be wise,"² could fall into such gross improprieties. Their wisdom, however, though far from inconsiderable, was all of this world. In religion "they became fools."³ They were beguiled by a stultifying superstition. Their heads ran upon imaginary deities once on earth, and more or less immoral there. Thus, they "changed the truth of God into a lie."⁴ True religion sternly rebukes the

¹ Rom. i. 23.

² Rom. i. 22.

³ Rom. i. 22.

⁴ Rom. i. 25.

immorality of man. Pagan fictions found excuses for it. Under such a religion public morals, as might be expected, became excessively depraved. Not only do we learn this from St. Paul; pagan authors fully bear him out. Evidently something was at work which intercepted half the benefits of ancient civilisation,—Scripture will tell us that it was image-worship.

The Gospel gave this evil a temporary check. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians"¹ became an extinct cry. But the old pagan leaven was not purged away. A new female divinity was found in the blessed Virgin. Controversy had rashly called Mary *the Mother of God*, and her popularity gradually reached an amazing height. In her train imagination ranged a crowd of other disembodied spirits, like herself now cognisant of much on earth, and all-powerful in heaven. Men were led into thinking such things of some among the dead by the figures that ornamented churches. Pagan temples had contained images of the gods; Christians were taunted with the want of such objects², and they could not rest until figures of the saints were to be seen in their own places of worship. Their first steps in this perilous rivalry were taken rather cautiously. They did not venture upon statues, but stopped short at pictures, reliefs, or mosaic.

¹ Acts, xix. 28.

² Arnobius, vi. *sub init.* Hamb. 1610, p. 112.

Unhappily this compliance with Gentile habits made way for an open return to the principles of Gentilism. A superstitious piety gave the commemorative ornaments certain outward marks of respect. From salutations people went on to a belief that God's more favoured servants, now with him, could hear and help mankind. Hence arose that general eagerness to secure their interest, which naturally lessened notice of God himself. Thus, as Claudius of Turin said more than a thousand years ago, *names were changed, but realities returned*, or, perhaps, rather, *were kept alive*.¹ Patronage, not amendment, became the Christian's trust. Some saint was to do every thing; and such a notion made him, as it had his pagan predecessor, "worship and serve the creature more than the Creator." Had he suffered Sripture to trample down the heathen element within him he would have "come boldly to the throne of grace³," offering his own heart. He never would have dreamt of cringing to some real or fancied saint whose power to hear him him even is most unlikely. A manly faith like this, which brings the suppliant at once "to the throne of grace,"² ennobles and improves. A pagan cast of mind, which blindly builds on saints, is linked

¹ See the passage, and some other passages of the same kind from ancient opponents of image-worship, in the *Latin Church*, p. 268.

² Heb. iv. 16.

with social stagnation or decline. Man is, therefore, bound for his own sake, to spurn image-worship. Give him the Decalogue in its full integrity, and he may see his interest here. Garble, emasculate the Decalogue, by expunging its prohibition of graven images and similitudes, and he is left open to a weakness which his nature loves, but which will keep him down.

Nor should it be forgotten, that a liberty with the Decalogue is a liberty taken directly with God. Other portions of the ancient law came to God's chosen people through the mind of Moses. But the Decalogue had no terrestrial passage. Moses merely received a record of it, and that from heavenly hands, set in motion by God himself.¹ This remarkable distinction stamps a peculiar character upon the Decalogue. It warrants an inference that God meant his rational creation to regard it as especially sacred. Nor is there any difficulty in seeing a good reason for this. All ages have drawn from the Ten Commandments the indisputable and immutable principles of right and wrong. These holy sanctions obviously reflect, as in a mirror, the moral elements which creative wisdom impressed upon man's intellectual frame. Take

¹ "Præcepta Decalogi ab aliis præceptis legis differunt in hoc, quod præcepta Decalogi per seipsum Deus dicitur populo proposuisse, alia vero præcepta proposuit populo per Mosem." Aquinas, *Prima Sec. Quæst.* 100. Art. 3. Concl.

any member of them away ; and who shall deny that an image divinely meant for man to contemplate and profit by, is incomplete? Surely, no human power is justified in curtailing the original proportions of such a standard. A few may think it, or profess to think it rather out of date in some particulars ; but it is the direct workmanship of God in every part, and hence the mutilation of it must be nearly akin to sacrilege.

Those who think so, and would humbly follow as God leads, are perfectly justified in designating that portion of the Decalogue which some omit, as the Second Commandment. It was called so by the ancient Jewish Church ; it was called so by some of the most ancient Christian Fathers. It bears, besides, a distinctive character. Its connexion with the first commandment is not closer than is the prohibition of coveting with certain other commandments. The reason of such double prohibitions in the Decalogue, is obvious enough. That summary is law for man laid down by God. When man lays down laws for himself, he must be contented with a prohibition of overt acts. But God lays them down for him under no such necessity. Hence the Psalmist says to Jehovah, "Thy commandment is exceeding broad."¹ It would prevent sinful acts by forbidding sinful

¹ Ps. cxix. 96.

thoughts. The Decalogue, in offering this service to mankind, does not accordingly overstep its peculiar province as an exponent of natural religion. It only shows itself as that complete sort of exponent which its divine origin warrants us in expecting. Undoubtedly, the case of idolatry differs from the moral cases that are treated in the Decalogue. In these latter, the sinful act springs out of the sinful thought ; but in idolatry, sinful thoughts have sprung out of sinful acts. If images had never been suffered in places of worship, or at all events, had been kept from reverential notice there, men would neither have trusted in heathen gods nor modern saints. The world would, therefore, have been sufficiently warned against idolatry without a commandment forbidding all approaches to it.

Had the commandment which does so, done no more, it would have been of great value to mankind. But it also makes an important revelation as to the attributes of God. It represents him as "a jealous God." Isaiah echoes this description by making him say : "I am the Lord ; that is my name : and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images."¹ This very passage was brought forward, in the ninth century, by Agobard, bishop of Lyons, as conclusive against

¹ Is. xlii. 8.

image-worship. That enlightened prelate introduces it by noting the innovating habits of his time, which, contrary to earlier usage, called images *holy*, and claimed adoration for them. He then adverts to the excuse, which is current still, that images were not adored, but saints represented by them. This he treats as a mere blind, set up by dishonest cunning, and at variance with God's declaration, *my glory will I not give to another*.¹ Suppose, indeed, saints really are worshipped instead of their images, it is only making the transgression of one commandment a screen for the transgression of another. The second commandment prohibits all religious use of images. The first commandment forbids the doing of "service to them which by nature are no gods."² Now, these words apply as much to Christian saints as to heathen gods. Both of them "by nature are no gods." Yet worship of them, addresses to them, assume the contrary. The outward honours paid to saints or their images are paid also to the Deity. The faculty of knowing things without the range

¹ "Necdum enim error emerserat, quo nunc de carbonibus, minioque vel sinopide figuratæ effigies, sanctæ imagines vocarentur, et adorandæ prædicarentur. Nec iterum ad sua latibula fraudulenta recurrat astutia, ut dicat se non imagines adorare, sed sanctos. Clamat enim Deus, *gloriam meam alteri non dabo, nec laudem meam sculptilibus*." S. Agobardi, Ep. Eccl. Lugd. Opp. Paris. 1605, p. 254.

² Gal. iv. 8.

of mortal observation is a godlike attribute : in its widest sense it is called omniscience. Nor have we the least reason for supposing that God has provided any secondary degree of it, or is willing to share any degree of it with some departed child or children of Adam. Hence, prayers to saints are probably at best a waste of words. If ignorance did not plead for them they would also be slights to Him, another of whose glories it is that he "heareth prayer."¹

Again : whatever tradition, or alleged tradition, may say about various mediators, and sorts of mediation fitted for them, Scripture says : "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."² Thus mediation, like omniscience, is a divine attribute, a "glory" that belongs to God : it is reserved for one of the persons in the godhead. Nor, let Sophistry twist itself as it may, can any rational grounds be produced for believing that the everlasting Son will share his glorious privilege of mediation with such as "by nature are no gods." Agobard only saw the contrary belief in its infancy ; but he glances at it, and of course unfavourably. All devices to keep the Saviour out of sight he represents as inconsistent with God's purpose—to "exalt him highly,

¹ Ps. lxxv. 2.

² 1 Tim. ii. 5.

to give him a name which is above every name.”¹ Nor has this view of the venerable prelate proved unfounded. People who look to inferior mediation think far more of the Virgin than of her ever-blessed Son. *His* “glory” can indeed be cast into the shade even by reliance upon the especial patronage of some less distinguished saint.

Besides giving reasons for confining divine honours to the Divinity, the second commandment contains declarations that highly concern men, for their own sakes, to know. They are told in it that image-worship will mar the prospects of many generations, while abstinence from that spurious kind of piety promises a long continuance of heavenly favour. The mere natural reason of these announcements is obvious enough. No wise man ever countenanced image-worship except as a concession to human weakness. Now it is the nature of such concessions to foster the very evil that recommends them to an intelligent forbearance. Image-worship is therefore adverse to the diffusion of sound wisdom: it lowers the tone of public opinion, and exhibits a clergy entangled by it, as accomplices of ignorance and superstition. It even

¹ Phil. ii. 9. “Et Apostolus de Domino nostro, *Mediatore Dei et hominum, Homine Christo Jesu, propter quod et Deus exaltavit eum, et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen.*” Agobard. 255.

tempts the grosser, and more artful of them, into various impostures that may serve their own selfish ends, but are certain to stultify their congregations. Thus nations, overspread by the superstitions that are forbidden in the second commandment, are effectually lowered in the social scale. Advancing civilisation may show them the way to dazzling accomplishments and ephemeral power ; but it cannot push them onwards to its legitimate results. The ministers of religion, and all the weaker elements of society, under such a system, are quite intractable and unimprovable beyond a certain point. It is long before so obstructive a bent in public opinion can be corrected. Hence it is the nature of superstitions in religion to prevent men from attaining a vigorous maturity of mind. On the other hand, that rational, manly piety, which Scripture teaches, places public opinion on a broad, solid, improving basis. Where the Ten Commandments, therefore, come under general observation, wanting that one of them which forbids image-worship, they serve to hinder that national progress which God revealed his will to help.

It must be no easy matter to make out for a church that cannot be weaned from the practice of lending authority to such Decalogues, any substantial claims to the confidence of mankind. Religion fails of its mission unless it leads men to the blessing of God. But image-worship, he himself positively

declares, earns for them his disfavour. Reserve that fact for scholarly circles, and all the world besides is blindly cast upon a loss which might never have been incurred if spiritual knowledge had freely gone abroad. Precedent and antiquity can be no good reasons for keeping any of it back. Pagans may think themselves able to discern some glimmering light through the mists of accumulated ages, but Christians have the Bible for a guide. They have no necessity to grope their way towards an authority, which, after all, no man can prove worthy of reliance. They have before them what all the civilised world admits as the infallible Word of God, placed upon record by God's own Providence. This is their standing authority, and no other can be depended upon. Image-worship shows this. It is never a solitary relic of the old heathen system. Other pagan principles and practices go with it, bringing social evils in their train. Undoubtedly it is often recommended by a great show of piety, which, in many cases, however mistaken, may be real. But image-worship boasted of such a recommendation so long as Isaiah's time. Its votaries were inflated by an opinion of their own uncommon sanctity, and no doubt gained popularity from being thought very strict professors of religion. The prophet brings one of them forward saying to a person who took a different view of heavenly truth: "Stand by thyself;

come not near to me, for I am holier than thou.”¹ But God admitted no claims to a holiness that his written Word does not prescribe. He threatens with his judgment these people who thought so much of their ostentatious will-worship. This example under the old law may admonish all under the new who follow after a sort of sanctity that Scripture does not warrant. Nor, if church authorities that encourage that kind of sanctity felt at all sure of their case, should we see them mount up to the boldness and stoop to the ignominy of mutilating the Ten Commandments.

Their conduct in this instance is very unfavourable to the supposition of an unwritten Word. If there be one it cannot contradict the written Word. Now this would happen if any portion of it authorised image-worship. The written Word utterly forbids all religious use of images. Unless this were tacitly conceded, genuine Decalogues would never be kept out of sight. Their disappearance from manuals for popular instruction casts a strong suspicion upon all religious principles that cannot safely appeal to the Bible. Advocates for such additions are implicated in suppression. Witnesses damaged in this way would very little help any cause in a court of justice.

Englishmen generally are sure to take some such

¹ Is. lxv. 5.

common-sense view of alleged Romish traditions. Nor will they like them any the better for being preached up by a scheming, pompous, pretentious, pauper hierarchy, thrust upon the country from abroad. Nevertheless, even such a body may do some harm. All are not proof against ostentatious formalism, accommodating doctrines, bold assertions, fine titles, religious rites that savour of the stage, tinsel and frippery, flaring lights, and reeking perfumes. The real character of that ecclesiastical corporation, which thus lies in wait for the ignorant and imaginative, may be fairly estimated from its treatment of the Decalogue. If Clements and Austins were ever so clear, and could be multiplied ten-fold; if precedents were ancient as the pyramids, man would not stand excused in garbling the Word of God. It ill-becomes the creature to take up an undoubted piece of the Creator's work and say to him: "Why hast thou made it thus?"¹ In the case of the entire Decalogue such a question might be answered by referring to the obvious weaknesses of human nature. But, humour these weaknesses, and sacerdotal importance might rise. The experiment was tried, and that importance *has* risen. To keep it where it is, a whole commandment has been boldly cut away. Surely there must be cause to suspect authorities which take

¹ Rom. ix. 20.

such liberties with God, which intercept a real knowledge of his covenant with man, which will not let him, further than can be helped, instruct mankind in the law of nature and reason. An ecclesiastical corporation, which truly had a mission from above, never could keep whole nations in ignorance of the genuine Ten Commandments.

MODERN ROMISH DECALOGUES.

CHURCH OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, PARIS.

PORTE PRINCIPALE.¹

CETTE porte, ouvrage unique dans ses immenses proportions, a 10 mètres de hauteur sur 5 de largeur ; elle représente les dix Commandemens de Dieu. Les deux premiers sont contenus dans l'imposte ; les troisième, quatrième, cinquième et sixième dans le battant de gauche, et les septième, huitième, neuvième et dixième dans celui de droite.

Imposte.

- 1 Commandement. — *Tu n'auras qu'un seul Dieu.*
Moïse fait adorer les tables de la loi.
- 2 Commandement. — *Tu ne prendras point son nom en vain.*
Moïse fait lapider le blasphémateur.

Battant de gauche.

- 3 Commandement. — *Sanctifie le jour du Sabbat.*
Repos de Dieu, et adoration des êtres créés le septième jour.
- 4 Commandement. — *Honore ton père et ta mère.*
Noé maudit son fils Cham, qui l'a insulté pendant son sommeil.

¹ Description exacte de l'Extérieur et de l'Intérieur de l'Eglise de la Madeleine.

5 Commandement. — *Tu ne tueras point.*

Mort d'Abel, malédiction de Caïn.

6 Commandement. — *Tu ne committeras point d'adultère.*

Nathan annonce à David et à Bethsabée la punition de leur péché.

Battant de droite.

7 Commandement. — *Tu ne déroberas point.*

Josué punit le vol d'Acham après la prise de Jericho.

8 Commandement. — *Tu ne diras point faux témoignage.*

Jugement de Suzanne, punition des vieillards.

9 Commandement. — *Tu ne convoiteras point la femme de ton prochain.*

Dieu reproche à Abimelech le rapt de Sara.

10 Commandement — *Tu ne convoiteras point le bien d'autrui.*

Elie reproche à Achab et à Jezabel le meurtre de Naboth.

METRICAL ROMISH DECALOGUE.¹

LES COMMANDEMENTS DE DIEU.

Un seul Dieu tu adoreras,
 Et aimeras parfaitement.
 Dieu en vain tu ne jureras,
 Ni autre chose pareillement.
 Les dimanches tu garderas,
 En servant Dieu dévotement.
 Tes père et mère honoreras,
 Afin de vivre longuement.
 Homicide point ne seras,
 De fait ni volontairement.

² *Heures Latines et Françaises à l'Usage des Fidèles du Diocèse du Mans, publiés par ordre de Monseigneur J. B. Bouvier, Evêque du Mans. Le Mans, 1843.*

Luxurieux point ne seras,
De corps ni de consentement.
Les biens d'autrui tu ne prendras,
Ni retiendras à ton escient.
Faux témoignage ne diras,
Ni mentiras aucunement.
L'œuvre de chair ne desireras
Qu'en mariage seulement.
Biens d'autrui ne convoiteras,
Pour les avoir injustement."

THE END.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

THE
ROMISH REACTION,
AND ITS
PRESENT OPERATION
ON
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY
HENRY SOAMES, M.A.,
AUTHOR OF THE *HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.*

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THE
ROMISH REACTION.

MANY yet alive remember the riots of 1780, and most elderly people have heard accounts of them from contemporaries. Popular antipathy to Romanism then reached its height, and afterwards regularly declined. Its diminution was not, however, much observable, until the Catholic claims, as they were called, came before the public. Then considerable indifference towards the papal church soon became apparent among laymen in good circumstances. Clergymen generally retained an attitude firmly Protestant so long as the contest lasted, and their polemical activity kept Romish advocates within bounds of exemplary moderation. When the restrictive system fell in 1829, a reaction was to be expected, but such a one has actually occurred, as few would have anticipated, twenty years ago. English Romanism now does not only feel relieved from obloquy and opposition, it boldly challenges publicity. Its edifices rise in all the pomp of architecture; cathedrals are designed; and even under execution; nor have successive exhibitions been without a papal ecclesiastic portrayed in the gaudy vestments of his function. Romish writers, too, have at length attracted popular attention, and the whole papal party has naturally been led by a reaction so

complete, into a tone of triumph, defiance, and expectation.

It has even received encouragement within the Established Church itself in taking this new position. Its principles, rites, and champions, lie no longer under one unbroken mass of clerical neglect, or opposition. The Church of England, rightly understood, approaches, it has been said, very near to that of Rome. Youthful inexperience, apparently, enamoured of ritual pageantry seen abroad, has discovered a disposition to naturalize the like on English ground. Romish formularies have courted public approval with Protestant introductions. The Reformation, though considered as probably requisite, and not schismatical, has been disparaged as a source of injury to religion. Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent III. have been extolled, Cranmer, Ridley, and Jewel censured. Papal authority to canonise has been tacitly admitted, by giving the saintly title to men who have none but Romish claims to any such distinction. Even the very name of Protestant, in which England, for ages, gloried all but universally, has been treated as a reproach that she should wipe, or explain away.

The reaction, undoubtedly, has not gone to such extremes, except among the younger clergy. The seniors almost in a body stand aloof, surprised and grieved. At least so much as that, may be safely said of nearly all the laity. Hence this movement would require but little notice, were not its admirers anxious to force it on the country generally. As the first step, they clamour for the revival of certain obsolete formalities in public worship. These in

themselves really are so very unimportant, and can often besides plead some sort of authority, that inattention to a general call for them would neither be politic nor reasonable. But the country makes no such call. It is indifferent, or hostile, and much more the latter than the former. It is, in fact, proud of the Church's offices, as they have been immemorially performed. Why risk unpalatable change? Surely, when men are quiescent, and even pleased, it cannot be judicious to thrust among them elements of debate, dissatisfaction, and disgust. Who shall venture to foresee what forms a strife that stirs a nation shall take, what spirits may ride upon it into notice, what havoc may follow in its train? The parties who struck the spark may have meant nothing so little as the flame. In this case, undoubtedly, it is so. The innovators may be warped, half-unconsciously, by a longing for augmented ecclesiastical importance. Apart from this venial frailty, they are wholly above suspicion. But as purity of motive is not always joined with sufficient consideration, it must be desirable to inquire whether present clamour for a new religious face, may not labour under this disadvantage. The cry should really find no hasty countenance; it has been raised before, and most unfortunately for both Church and monarchy.

It is of still more importance from its bearing on the spiritual interests of men; a due regard for these now renders it necessary to give the public generally some means of estimating Romanism. Advocates of that creed might colourably maintain from late events, that English antipathy to it originated in sel-

fishness, and never found support in anything more respectable. Hence opposition to it had no sooner ceased to answer any worldly end, than the force of truth converted men, trained for enemies, into real friends. For such representations, however, there is really but a slender foundation. Assimilations to Romanism are not necessarily Romish. On the contrary, some of the most cherished papal principles may be entertained by those who are both able and willing to use them against the papal church herself. Unwritten tradition, for instance, on which she chiefly leans, has been often shown to be at best a two-edged sword, above her power to meet, when wielded with an able hand. Still, recent approximations to the Church of Rome have been convicted of a dangerous tendency. Some conversions, rather perhaps apostasies, have actually occurred, as every body knows. Any considerable number of these defections may not, indeed, be likely among clergymen, even in quarters most open to misconception. A moderate portion of professional knowledge will discover indefensible points in the Romish system, and a rising disposition to abandon Protestantism may be restrained by marriage, or by dependence upon preferment of some value. But laymen have no such protections. Hence opinions of a Romish cast are no safe candidates for popular approbation. It is true that genuine Protestants may think very differently upon many subjects from extreme holders of reformed opinions. Nor will those who know the Church deny the expediency of spreading sounder impressions upon ecclesiastical questions than have been current in some Protestant bodies. But

unwonted prominence given to tradition, church-authority, sacramental efficacy, ritual observances, and other questions on which Rome relies, is likely to prepare the way for her emissaries, and to divert attention from the vitals of religion. Serious evil may also lurk under a studied extension of ritual formalities. Once engender a prevailing fondness for externals, and Protestant worship may be thought without facilities for satisfying the reasonable cravings of mankind. For such a taste, however, ample gratification is provided in the theatrical rites of Rome. Unless, therefore, Protestants desire some sort of coalition with the papal church, they should, in justice to the weak and uninformed, be very wary of approaches towards her. But coalition would be soon found impracticable. The papacy, though weakened and humbled, still has power and haughtiness enough to demand an unconditional surrender. And her friends may ask, Why should Protestants refuse one?

When inquiring minds would return a well-considered answer to this important question, they soon discern a most unsatisfactory prospect before them. As Romanism rises to the view, really two systems are disclosed; one of which has no defenders, or none of any note: this latter system may, indeed, be disclaimed altogether, without renouncing the Romish communion. Hence Bossuet, whose *Exposition of the Catholic Faith in Matters of Controversy* has become a text-book in papal polemics, would not undertake its advocacy. He pleads for nothing unsanctioned by the wary council of Trent. This determination leaves, however, that superstition undefended, which chiefly makes up the

Romanism of the Romish world. The great Bishop of Meaux's caution, accordingly, occasioned, at first, some dissatisfaction; but its wisdom has been shown by experience, and others have been equally discreet. Appeals are accordingly made by Romish writers to the famous *Exposition*, as a judicious and successful vindication of their creed, from the offensive charges of malice and ignorance. Now, it will be granted readily, that Rome is not chargeable with absurd or pernicious principles or practices, merely because found within her pale. But she must answer, notwithstanding, for very many things, because her authorities regularly sanction them, which the council of Trent has either wholly passed over, or involved in the mist of a prudent obscurity. The Pope would, probably, fence desperately under inquiries as to his belief in *the holy house of Loretto*: yet his own dominions contain that crying outrage upon common sense. Nor, however he and those about him sigh or smile, do any of them doubt that the miserable pilgrims, decoyed by his connivance to Loretto, believe all the ludicrous absurdities in circulation there. Is, then, a church which thus, at its fountain-head, betrays the defenceless populace, to decline responsibility by merely pleading that vulgar credulity must have its way? Why suffer ignorance to beguiled without an effort to prevent it? Nay: the case is worse. Their spiritual guides carefully beset ignorant worshippers, in all Romish countries, with incentives to superstition, for which, very slender authority, or none at all, was left by the Trentine council. Visitors to France see little of religion there beyond female worship of the Virgin Mary. Yet such

deification has no sufficient conciliar authority. But can this be generally known among the people? Does it not, in fact, appear that superstitious ignorance is deliberately given over to extravagant views of the *Mother of God*, as Mary is ordinarily called? Let a senseless festival, known as her Assumption, be observed on Romish ground. It occurred in 1842, on a Monday, and far more shops were then closed at Caen, the chief town in Lower Normandy, than had been on the day before. The former day, however, was the Lord's, reserved for his service by holy and indubitable sanctions: the latter's claim to notice rests on a mythologic tale of the same authenticity with any told of Cybele or Diana. It is equally disingenuous and vain in Romanists to disclaim such portions of their system as it popularly works. Their church is answerable for all that her established governors have immemorially sanctioned, and still continue to sanction. In face of so much to shock a religious eye in Romish places of worship, it is idle to seek refuge under the council of Trent. If both head and members in the papal church had really opposed popular superstition, endless abuses, yet in high repute, would long have sunk into mere matter of history.

The Roman church must also answer for a speculative doctrine of great practical importance, taught habitually, but notwithstanding insufficiently authorized by her main standard of belief. Protestants promise iniquity no pardon without genuine contrition. Scholastic divines on the other hand, posterior to the twelfth century, have taught sinners to expect security from a servile fear of punishment, unconnected with such love

of goodness as bespeaks a change of mind^a. This they termed *attrition*, and it is represented as effectual, if sealed by priestly absolution, or the desire of it, where that consolation itself is unattainable^b. Thus one man is brought proudly forward as able to supply the obvious deficiencies of another's repentance. Upon the establishment of such a principle clerical influence must necessarily rise, and men willingly concur in establishing it, because they shrink from timely and serious attention to their spiritual affairs. But it is obviously a principle to undermine morality. The council of Trent has not, however, distinctly sanctioned it. When attrition came under the notice of that famous body, little was apparently thought expedient beyond a censure of Luther's views upon the question. The Saxon reformer had branded attrition as essentially hypocritical, and an aggravation of sin^c. The council not only gave him the negative, but pronounced also an attrite state of mind useful for disposing sinners to seek God in the sacrament of penance^d. Sanction from Trent is, notwithstanding, commonly claimed for the scholastic doctrine. Before the council separated a committee was appointed to prepare a manual, for the spreading of its views through Europe. These chosen theologians remained at work until 1566, when the result of their labours was published by papal authority, and has been generally known as the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or in Latin as the *Catechismus ad*

Morinus *De Pœnitentia*. ar. 1651. p. 506.

^b Roffens *adv. Luther*. Wirceb. 1597. p. 339.

^c Chemnic. *Exam. Conc. Trid.* Genev. 1614. p. 186.

^d Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. cap. 4.

Parochos. This compilation, after declaring contrition attainable by very few, speaks of a provision mercifully made to pardon sin *by an easier way*, through the sacerdotal keys^e. Here, then, is distinctly recognised a power to make men easy under sin without contrition. Hence an ordinary ecclesiastic may excusably fancy his absolutions to have been deliberately placed upon this exalted ground, by the very council that settled Romish doctrine. But let a competent objector insist upon the evil of lulling conscience while the heart continues hard, and he will hear, what is undeniable, that human salvability through attrition, was really not affirmed at Trent. And it will be argued farther, that a mere committee, which did not complete its task until more than two years after the council separated, wanted sufficient authority to sanction any doctrine not formally established by itself. But is not Rome really compromised by this catechism, which she has circulated, almost three hundred years, as an authentic exposition of her faith? And why should Protestants desire approximation to a system which waylays ignorance with indefensible superstitions, and whispers pardon to unyielding guilt when driven to a priest by slavish fears of punishment? Surely Rome's double dealing in the latter case is of itself enough to make her contact odious. Her clergy are encouraged in tampering with the souls of men, by an authority which they may allowably think unquestionable, but let the question rise, and it is found immediately that any such authority will be sought in vain. Bellarmine

^e *Catech. ad Parochos.* p. 2. de Pœn. Sacr. xlv.

would seek refuge from this disingenuous presumption of his church, by asserting that Luther's disciples are equally liberal to sinners merely attrite, whatever the great Saxon reformer himself might have originally taught^f. If it be so, the fact only shows that clergymen are very liable to the fascination of papal principles. Rome has undoubtedly abundant means of ensnaring minds, whether clerical or lay. Hence most men who know the danger will seek to keep both priest and people from the risk of romanising.

Little, however, need be feared for those by whom the Romish system has been searchingly considered. Even its defended portions, which no Romanist can abandon, make but a sorry figure when stripped of adventitious aids. The reaction in their favour calls for some notice of them; and, in taking it, Bossuet's *Exposition* may serve as a guide. This little tract is not only drawn up with admirable skill, but also the use of it involves no personal controversy. The first article in it requiring particular observation is the *Invocation of Saints*. This really means the calling upon various parties deceased, under a notion that they can hear us, and are privileged by God to act as mediators between himself and men. The individuals to whom this power and office are attributed, form a very large and motley company. Some of them were unquestionably saints, others were fanatics, or zealots for monachism, or insane; and names are even found upon the list which cannot be conclusively connected with any real persons whatsoever. But it is needless

^f *De Controversiis*. Col. Agr. 1615. iii. 434.

to enter into particulars before some good reason has been found for any such invocation at all, and even if this were done an inquiring mind might fairly ask, Why we should suppose dead people of any kind able to hear us? Until this question is answered satisfactorily, calls upon the deceased must be liable to a charge of absurdity. The council of Trent, however, which was driven to give some sort of authority for these addresses, has passed over the information necessary to protect them, and, with some verbosity, it has merely enjoined clergymen to teach, that *suppliantly to invoke saints is a good and useful thing*^g. But it is obviously neither, unless the parties invoked can hear. The following is Bossuet's mode of evading this difficulty: "The church, in teaching it is profitable to pray to saints, teaches us to pray to them in the same spirit of charity, and according to the same order of fraternal society, which moves us to demand assistance of our brethren living on the earth^h." The whole meaning of this passage appears to be, that speeches may be made, messages sent, or letters written to a friend who died some time ago, with much about the same reason as to one still upon the earth. After this unpromising introduction, the great Romish controversialist glides off into matters wholly irrelevant, but, at last, he finds himself unable to escape from saying something upon the power of his deceased or imaginary clients to hear what people say to them. Their capacity, he says, for this, may come "from the ministry and commu-

^g Conc. Trid. Sess. 25.

^h *Exposition of the Doctrine of* | *the Catholic Church in matters of*
Controversie. Lond. 1735. p. 72.

nication of angels;" or from "God himself making known to them our desires by a particular revelation; or by his discovering the secret to them in his divine essence, in which all truth is comprisedⁱ." The possibility of such things no one will deny; its probability is a very different question, and one that ought certainly to be placed upon some satisfactory footing before ignorant people are taught to assume it in their devotions. Bellarmine would find such a footing in *the infinite miracles, by which saints have shown themselves very often to hear the prayers of the living, and to be both able and willing to aid those who invoke them*^j. Their mode of hearing, he says, is this: *Our prayers reach them, not as they are in our own minds, but as they are in God, whom the saints behold, and who shows to them the supplications of men*^k. These accounts may seem very probable and ingenious to such as will take upon trust an infinite number of unspecified miracles, and a broad assertion made by an interested party who can have no information whatever about the matter. But others, when they see nothing better said for the invocation of saints, may allowably ask with Calvin, Who has let us know that departed spirits *have ears long enough to hear the prayers of men*^l? So hopeless, indeed, is the task of making out any tolerable case upon this question, that Milner represents the council of Trent as "barely teaching that it is *good and profitable* to invoke the prayers of saints," adding, that Romish divines hence consider this practice to rest upon "no

ⁱ *Exposition*, 79.

^j *Controv.* ii. 297.

^k *Ibid.* 291.

^l *Institut.* iii. 20, sect. 24. Lugd. Bat. 1654. p. 311.

positive law of the church^m." The council, however, did not really go quite so far as the former of these extracts might lead us to believe. It has not formally pledged itself even to the *goodness and profit* of invoking saints: it merely prescribed these topics to ordinary religious teachers. Undoubtedly it did not take a final stand at this prudent but disingenuous point. It went on to condemn those who attack the invocation of saints. Thus this practice, in spite of its insuperable difficulties at the very outset, clings tenaciously to the Romish creed. It is interwoven inseparably with papal worship, making intolerable demands upon the forbearance of enquiring worshippers.

After his advocacy of addresses to the dead, Bossuet pleads in seven verbose pages for images and relics. To neither, he declares, is any worship really allowed, but both, it is maintained, may help popular devotion. This is pagan ground, and was habitually taken by baffled heathenism, in answering the early Christians. As anciently too, images have been called by Romish patrons *the books of unlearned men*. They are so undoubtedly, but Scripture charges them with teaching lies in religionⁿ. Clearly therefore, the very classes for whose reading they are professedly provided, ought to be protected from it. Pains are taken, it is true, to keep the populace from falling through image-worship into rank idolatry; but what precaution could be half so good as the removal of every snare? Instead of this kind and wise consideration, the steps

^m Cited by Mr. Palmer, from the *End of Controversy*, in his Fifth Letter to Dr. Wiseman, p. 31.

ⁿ Hab. ii. 18. Jer. x. 8, 14. Zech. x. 2.

of ignorance in Romish churches are beset with other snares. Relics also lie in wait for popular credulity, and positively render it a laughing-stock. Two or three heads of a single saint, fragments of the cross, enough altogether to build a barge, if not a brig, tinge popery with farce. Friends, hear of such impostures with a smile, but image-worship can summon up the burning blush of shame. How can an ingenuous Romanist face a decalogue curtailed either wholly, or in part, of the second commandment? Yet such decalogues abound°, and amount, undoubtedly to a plea of guilt on a charge of idolatry. To escape from the misery of dwelling on such mutilations, a discussion is commonly provoked upon ancient modes of dividing the commandments. But this is merely flying off into literary antiquarianism, and leaves in all its force the serious question, Where is God's prohibition of bowing down to graven images?

Images and relics can, however, have no great attractions for masculine understandings. Their importance requires gross apprehensions, and a childish fondness for glittering toys. But a belief in purgatory, which may next be noticed, acts powerfully upon the whole Romish world, and is highly profitable as a source of sacerdotal revenue. It is, notwithstanding, a doctrine for which the council of Trent could find no satisfactory foundation. Mention is, indeed, made of scriptural authority, reinforced by Fathers and councils, but no clue is given to the passages intended.

° See the Author's *History of the* | iv., 488; and *Bampton Lectures*, 242.
Reformation, ii., 529, 530; iii., 298; | P Conc. Trid. Sess. 25, cap. 1.

Such a mode of affirming an important principle must appear suspicious to discerning minds, even untinged with scholarship. Readers of theology are aware that no better matter was producible. The council naturally distrusted Scripture for its purpose. The Fathers offer much bearing upon purgatory, but nothing definite or consistent. Earlier councils had sanctioned prayers for the dead, but purgatorial pains after death first received conciliar authority at Florence, in 1439, while the great-grandfathers of those who deliberated at Trent were actually alive. Having such scanty and unmanageable materials, Bossuet contents himself with the following argument in favour of a posthumous purgation :—"Those who depart this life in grace and charity, but nevertheless indebted to the divine justice some pains which it reserved, are to suffer them in the other life. This is what obliged all the primitive Christians to offer up prayers, alms-deeds, and sacrifices, for the faithful who departed in peace, and in the communion of the church, with an assured faith that they could be assisted by these means¹." Neither of these assertions, narrow and wary as are both, is worthy of any great attention. It has not been established upon careful investigation, either that any penalties hereafter are to be expected by such as die in the peace of God, or that services for the dead in early times originated in a desire to relieve them from purgatorial pains. Here again, therefore, is very little temptation to romanise. A doctrine which enslaves the Romish world, and has overleaped all reasonable

¹ *Expos.* 102.

demands upon the purse, was never solemnly affirmed until the fifteenth century, and could find at Trent no better notice than one that effectually condemns it.

Transubstantiation has been treated by the council more at length: it is, indeed, vital to the Romish faith, and hence could not be hastily dismissed. It is the doctrine, in fact, on which depends the *Mass*, that service of which we chiefly hear in papal churches. The word *mass*, which is of disputed origin, means no more than the communion-service. The primitive Christians communicated even daily as an act of ordinary devotion, and this practice, it appears, had not grown unusual in the west when the fifth century began^r. Romanists, therefore, in their principal service, only continue constantly facilities of which the people have not taken advantage, except occasionally, during fourteen hundred years. They merely cling to a shadow, after parting with the substance. They come habitually to the communion, but never think of communicating more than about once in every year. Yet the service, frequented so inconsistently, was evidently written for a congregation of communicants^s, and anciently, none who did not mean communion, were allowed within the church, while the Holy Supper was administered^t. Now, that sacred mystery is made by Romanists into a mere theatrical shew, which friends consider an imposing ceremony, and which may be so when expensively conducted, but which enemies have often thought little better than downright mummary. To justify

Bona *De Rebus Liturgicis*. Par. | ^s *Ibid.* 99.
1672. p. 479. | ^t *Ibid.*

this continuance of a primitive service, under a total departure from the practice which occasioned it, a notion has arisen, that the priest, who really does receive, offers a sacrifice for quick and dead. Thus Romanists usually decline their obvious duty when present at the sacrament, under a belief that another is, in a certain degree, receiving for them, reckoning not only upon their own advantage from this vicarious religion, but also thinking that it may benefit absent and departed friends. This mode, likewise, of attending the communion has the attractions of requiring no great preparation, and of involving but little responsibility. Another notion that brings Romish non-communicants to gaze habitually on eucharistic ministrations, is that of worshipping the Saviour sensibly present. Formerly, most members of the papal church understood literally our Lord's words, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you^u." Some, indeed, had doubts of this interpretation, but all thought the eucharist, if not absolutely necessary to salvation, yet so very important, that it was administered to infants immediately after baptism. The literal sense of this text, however, was abandoned universally in the twelfth century, or thereabouts, and the communion of infants then gradually wore out. Our Lord's words in instituting the Holy Supper have been differently treated among Romanists, being tenaciously construed in a sense strictly literal. This makes the eucharistic elements, after consecration, to be considered really as

^u St. John vi. 25.

an incarnation of the Deity, veiled under the forms of bread and wine. To greet with some degree of propriety, a presence so august, at well-appointed masses, bewitching music fills the ear, perfume regales the nostrils, and gaudy dresses please the eye, while unceasing movements will not let attention flag.

Yet reasons for doubting this alleged incarnation are both obvious and cogent. Scripture denies it any sufficient countenance, as is plain from the operation of Bible-reading upon ordinary Protestants. They have no prejudice against transubstantiation, very few among them having ever heard of it. Notwithstanding, their habitual perusal of the sacred volume never leads them to suspect it. In those divine words by which Romanists would prove it, a parallel is merely seen with other passages, in which Jesus figures himself as a door, a vine, or something else that literally he could never be. This view is so reasonable, and will apply so solidly to the particular case, that Bishop Fisher, the illustrious victim of Henry VIII., ingenuously admits the impossibility of proving transubstantiation from the bare words of Scripture. He rests the efficiency of texts adduced for it upon interpretations given to them by the Fathers^x. Other candid Romanists have made similar concessions^y. Protestants, however, consider these patristic confirmations as nothing more than rhetorical embellishments, and produce, to prove them such, adverse passages from the very same

^x Joh. Fish. Roff. Ep. Opp. | mons, Lond. 1742, ii. 202. Cosin.
Wirceb. 1597. col. 227. | *Historia Transubstantiationis Pa-*

^y See Archbishop Tillotson's Ser- | *palis*, Lond. 1675, p. 161.

authors. Indisputably the Fathers offer both fact and figure on the eucharistic presence. The question turns upon which is one, and which the other. Where Protestants decide for figure, Romanists can only see fact, and without collateral evidence it is impossible to determine which party has taken the more probable side. Upon such evidence the Protestant opinion can make an effectual stand. Bellarmine could find no objectors to the doctrine of transubstantiation before the eighth century, and even then he merely infers their existence from some words used in the controversy on image-worship^z. Yet, if such a vent for party spirit had existed, it could scarcely have been so long overlooked. Mental inactivity did not characterize the times. Christians were constantly disputing. There is really, however, no trace of their disputes upon the corporal presence until the ninth century. Some belief of the kind had, probably, become current before, but no divine is known to have embodied it in writing, until this was done, about the year 818, by Paschasius Radbert, a French monk, eventually Abbot of Corbey. Still that writer, of whom great notice has consequently been taken both by Romanists and Protestants, does by no means go far enough for the papal church. His authority has, in fact, been produced against her^a. He makes transubstantiation, or perhaps rather, impanation, depend upon faithful receiving; a principle ruinous to the adoration ceremonies of a modern Romish mass. Of his work's adverse

^z *Controvv.* iii. 152.

^a *Catalogus Testium veritatis*,
1608, col. 1083. Cosin. 88.

operation upon these formalities, no proof, indeed, can be given more decisive than Archbishop Parker's insertion, in the Twenty-ninth Article of the Church of England^b, of the very passage from St. Austin, which guided Radbert's view of the question. His work, notwithstanding, occasioned such a ferment, that Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, desired Ratramn and John Scot, two of the best contemporary scholars, to examine it. They did so, and condemned it. Radbert's doctrine was besides pronounced *an error and a novelty*^c, by another contemporary, at least equal in scholarship to the former two, and superior in station. This was Raban Maur, the famous Archbishop of Mentz, whose testimony as to *novelty*, at least, must be unimpeachable, and it involves the charge of error. That could be no article of the Christian faith, which a competent authority pronounced *new* in the ninth century, and if such a doctrine as transubstantiation, or impanation, had really been otherwise than new, it could hardly have been received in silence until so late a period. Its novelty has been still more formally established by the ancient Church of England, which authorized a paschal homily, embodying a large portion of Ratramn's tract against Radbert. This decisive blow to the doctrine of transubstantiation comes, probably, from the pen of Elfric. Under that impression,

^b The passage is more clearly against transubstantiation as originally written by St. Austin. The printed texts of that father are incorporated in this passage with an ancient gloss, which weakens the

original sense. See the Author's *Bampton Lectures*, 404.

^c Poenit. Rhab. Archiep. Mogunt. in tom. *Insignium Auctorum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum*. In-golst. 1616.

Johnson of Cranbrook very reasonably says, "I am fully persuaded, that the homilies of Elfric are more positive against transubstantiation, than the homilies of the Church of England compiled in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth^d."

When pressed by such attacks, which are fatal to their system, Romanists commonly begin to talk of the real presence. If this be admitted by an adversary, they seek to mystify and confuse him by subtle speculations upon the manner of it. But all such niceties are irrelevant. A real presence to faithful receivers is no matter for the exercise of human ingenuity, nor does it countenance the uses made of the Lord's table in a Romish mass. Christ may be truly present to the receiving priest, if properly prepared, without impressing a divine character upon such of the consecrated elements as are not received. With even those actually taken, and under proper circumstances, there is no reason for imputing to them such a presence, as justifies their elevation over the officiator's head, for a congregation to worship. What shall then be said of adoring sacramental substances not received at all? This is evidently a gross perversion of the eucharistic feast, and it renders the attendance of non-communicants greatly more objectionable now, than it would have been when such persons were excluded from the Church. But besides the palpable abuses of their communion-service, Romanists reserve the consecrated elements for production at other times. They are then wholly out of place, and as if to render this

^d Pref. to Johnson's Collection. Lond. 1720. xx.

glaringly conspicuous, nothing can look more absurd, than the bowing of heads by which they are saluted. Even when a priest is duly consecrating, or saying mass, in Romish phrase, there is no likelihood of any eucharistic presence, when he is unfit for a devout receiving. Now, if this were very uncommon among their incessant masses, the papal clergy must be more than men. Thus the adoration ceremonies are liable to become quite indefensible, at the only time when there is a pretence for considering them lawful. These formalities ought to guide every disputant upon transubstantiation, and never to be suffered out of sight. Eucharistic questions between Rome and the Reformation, do not turn upon the inscrutable operations of heavenly grace, but upon the reality of such a presence as renders consecrated bread and wine legitimate objects of religious worship.

In considering the recent reaction, other questions will be found of secondary importance. There are various principles which Romanists and Protestants hold in common, though their actual opinions upon them are very different. Probably, well-informed and intelligent men of the two creeds, discussing such points candidly together, would soon show strong approximations towards each other. There is no occasion, for instance, to anticipate much difference upon an enumeration of the sacraments. All the seven ministrations, which bear a sacramental character among Romanists, have some sort of place in the Church of England, with the exception of extreme unction, and even this was admitted in King Edward's first service-book. The term sacrament has, in fact,

been treated by the Anglican reformers as merely technical, and theologians may, therefore, allowably differ upon the application of it. Meaning properly the sensible sign of some holy thing, it was applied anciently to the several substances used in baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's Supper. These being four, namely, water, chrism, bread, and wine, the sacraments were said to be four^e. They were subsequently pronounced seven, school divinity having introduced a fashion for septenaries. The Church of England has left mere technicality untouched, asserting no more, than that five of the Romish sacraments "are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel," not having, "like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's Supper^f." Upon this principle, the Catechism declares the sacraments to be "two only, as generally necessary to salvation;" leaving divines to describe in their own way religious forms not "generally necessary to salvation;" which is the obvious and admitted position of some rites termed sacraments by Romanists. Calm discussion, therefore, between Romanist and Protestant, would be likely to leave the two parties at no long distance from each other in enumerating sacraments. It is useless to take much notice of satisfactions for sin, or indulgences, until the doctrine of purgatory, on which they chiefly depend, is placed upon definite and solid ground. A belief in cleansing fires after death calls, indeed, for another Romish principle, namely, that divine justice will

* Rab. Maur. *De Instituendis Clericis*. Col. 1532, p. 37. | ' Art. 25.

exact a temporal penalty for every sin, although the eternal punishment may be mercifully remitted through sacramental agency. But still, take away purgatory, and the whole structure falls, it being obvious, that absolution is a mockery to one who has lived sinfully until life is all but closed, unless posthumous pains wring the satisfaction from him, which hitherto he has not paid, but which, he is told, no offender can escape. Thus a very large portion of the Romish system hinges mainly upon purgatory, a point which the council of Trent was driven to dismiss in the most brief, cautious, and unsatisfactory manner. It was not very explicit, even upon the famous question of indulgences, merely declaring the power of granting them to have been divinely conferred upon the Church, to have been exercised from the earliest times, and to be very wholesome to the people^g. Thus Romanists may go back, if they please, to the primitive system of making an indulgence nothing more than a relaxation of penance imposed for some public scandal, and accelerating the time of absolution. Upon this principle, if ancient discipline could be restored, Protestants will allow that such a grace, discreetly dispensed, might often be advantageous. Papal indulgences, according to the letter, would be consistent with this principle, if they preceded absolution^h. By following it, popular superstition, under countenance from some writers in divinity, and general connivance, has been led into a belief, needing hellebore, Calvin

^g Sess. 25.

^h Mr. Palmer's Seventh Letter to Dr. Wiseman, 24.

says, rather than argumentⁱ, that indulgences will release from the penalties of sin, both here and hereafter.

No such expectations would prevail among Romanists, if their belief were securely fixed upon the rock of Scripture, and habitually tested by that infallible standard. But among them God's word is divided into two parts, the written and the unwritten, pronounced equally worthy of reverence and reliance^j, and both necessary for the correct understanding of each other. For the portion of this twofold revelation, unrecorded in Scripture, inquirers are referred to the remains of ecclesiastical antiquity^k, to the wide circle, that is, of councils and fathers. Thus, instead of seeking their faith in the Bible alone, a book of manageable size that has undergone innumerable searching inquiries, Romanists are to look for it besides in a great number of books, presenting all those difficulties of text, language, allusion, and construction, that embarrass readers of the ancient classics. This enormous and multifarious mass of authority, though rather the master of Scripture than supplemental to it, is obviously open to very few even of the clergy, and reference to it, accordingly, must, in most cases, be either idle pretence, or artful subterfuge. The sacred Record, in one or more of the ancient languages, with some well-established aids for the study of it, can be procured and used by most ministers of religion: but a creed largely founded upon tradition is only to be

Inst. iv. 5. p. 231.

ⁱ Conc. Trid. Sess. 4.

^k Bellarm. *Controv.* i. 82.

critically known by a scholar, here and there. Most men who seek for proofs of it must be contented with partial extracts, and run the risk of depending upon some that are positively spurious. There are many such passages in editions of the Fathers, especially in the older editions, and Romish polemics even still venture, or stumble, upon the use of them¹.

Besides objections to traditional articles of faith from ordinary men's utter inability to judge of them accurately, the Bible itself really destroys their credit. Bellarmine observes, that religious principles and rites always existed in the world, though seemingly not placed upon record before Moses, and even then only for the Jews, who, after all, had little means of using the written word until Ezra^m. From these premises he argues, that Scriptures without traditions are neither simply necessary nor sufficient. If collateral facts be considered, it might be inferred rather that sound religion requires the protection of an authentic record. Abraham left his paternal home, under Divine direction, because idolatry, as it seems, infected it. His posterity, we know, were continually gliding into this false doctrine, notwithstanding a series of wonderful providences to preserve them from it, down to the very days of Ezra. The evil appears to have reached its height, when authentic copies of the written Word, by some accident or management, had been withdrawn from public viewⁿ. Nor did idolatry, then firmly possessed of every other country, relax its hold upon

¹ Mr. Palmer's Fifth Letter to Dr. Wiseman, p. 16. | ^m *Controvv.* i. 68.

| ⁿ 2 Kings xxii. 8.

Judea, until Ezra settled the canon of Scripture, and synagogues were universally established. In these the written Word was habitually read, and with such extreme scrupulosity^o as to engender a suspicion that apostasy had formerly been encouraged, by spurious or glossed and garbled Scriptures. Thus the Old Testament, and its collateral history, offer one consistent mass of testimony to the danger of admitting the traditional principle in religion without extreme caution. In the New Testament we may learn this danger from the lips of our Saviour himself^p. Besides this, the New Testament bears powerful indirect witness against unwritten tradition. In advocating the claims of tradition to confidence, Bellarmine states the occasional calls to which we owe the four Gospels^q, and every attentive reader can see that such gave us the Epistles. Now these facts prove the insufficiency of oral revelations. An Apostle, or apostolical teacher, had no sooner turned his back upon a congregation than errors arose which could only be stayed by writing, although the party himself was yet alive, and within reach of reference. His testimony, or doctrine, might even be embodied in writing by some one else from memory, and yet want sufficient accuracy. Thus ordinary newspaper intelligence, however carefully provided, is rarely found strictly correct by persons cognizant of the facts. It was, undoubtedly, to remedy the evils, actually experienced from want of written

^o *The Synagogue and the Church*,
by the Rev. J. L. Bernard. Lond.
1842. p. 126.

^p St. Matt. xv. 6. St. Mark vii. 9.

^q *Controv.* i. 69.

documents, that Apostles and Evangelists were inspired to pen such, and there is every reason to believe that heavenly motions would not leave them until their task was performed sufficiently. They had been much misrepresented while alive: this injury, therefore, was neither likely to cease at their deaths, nor the evil of it then to be overlooked by a wakeful Providence. Hence we may infer the sufficiency of Scripture. The necessity for it took very little time to show itself. Papias, bishop of the Phrygian Hierapolis, according to Irenæus, a disciple of St. John, and an intimate friend of Polycarp, wrote a work in five books, extant in the time of Trithemius^r, professing to detail much that he had heard of our Lord and his Apostles, from the very best authorities. But whatever opportunities of information he might have had, from a conspicuous inferiority of understanding, his credit^s never stood very high; still, he succeeded in establishing, during many ages, a general belief in the doctrine of a millennium, which had obtained currency among the Jews, and was most probably brought by converts of that nation into the church^t. Even yet visionary minds cling to this tradition, although most men have long abandoned it. Its pedigree is, however, unusually perfect, being traced up to St. John, then descending orally to Papias, by whom it was written down^u. Those, therefore, who reject it must act rather unreasonably

^r *Ob.* 1516. Moreri.

^s Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 39. Amst. 1695. i. 90.

^t Mosheim *De Rebus Christianis*

ante Constant. Helmst. 1753. p. 721.

^u Conference between Chillingworth and Lewgar. Lond. 1687. p. 89.

in believing traditions not half so well authenticated. Other contributions to a traditional system may have been made by weak and credulous men, like Papias; others, again, by men who were ignorant, rash, prejudiced, artful, or superstitious, rather than indiscreet and vain. It is impossible that such a huge and miscellaneous pile as the Fathers have built should want materials of all these kinds. Thus tradition is evidently unequal to bear the weight imposed upon it by Rome, but it is, undoubtedly, often highly valuable as a scriptural interpreter, and as an authority for discipline, or usage; though even in these cases its range is too wide, and its voice too uncertain, for conclusive operation.

The tradition, however, to which Rome really owes her peculiarities, is of no religious value, being essentially Pagan. It is to be found in the Fathers, because a fatal compromise was early made between heathenism and Christianity. Platonic philosophy was admitted to an insidious alliance with the Gospel, and Christian ministers easily became consenting parties, because they found the patchwork popular, and conducive to their own interest and importance. To this alliance Rome obviously owes those appeals to the dead, ordinarily known as the invocation of saints. Heathenism is founded upon the principle of acknowledging a supreme Deity, who is inaccessible, or nearly so, unless through some of his most favoured servants. The mediators adopted, though differently and variously named, are evidently Noah and his family, the common ancestors of mankind, whose favour with God is thought undeniable from their wonderful preservation in the

ark^x. It is to the departed spirits of these venerated personages, both male and female, that Pagan worship fain would mount, in hope of securing their interest with the Great Supreme. With that exalted Being himself, undoubtedly, the deified subordinates are confounded by heathen ignorance. And Romish ignorance often goes to strange extremes in this way, as to the canonized subordinates of the papal creed, especially as to the Virgin Mary. Invocation takes, in fact, exactly the same ground in both cases, and must have, therefore, a common origin. It is creature-worship, adopted from traditions of unknown antiquity, as the best mode of approaching Omnipotence^y. Romanists have done no more than change the tutelary mediators, and talk of canonizing instead of deifying. Enlightened heathens disclaim a proper polytheism, just as much as well-informed Romanists do the literal worship of saints. The religious use of images is another undeniable graft from a Pagan stock upon papal belief. It is the same with Romish justifications of this insidious and antichristian abuse. Every Romish argument, or sophistical pretence rather, in its favour, may be found in Pagan writers. In the face of these facts, it was gratuitous presumption in the second council of Nice to rest image-worship on Christian tradition. This was, however, the time and way in which the traditional principle was first formally affirmed among Christians. It was, therefore, originally placed as a religious authority

^x See Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*, | ^y Cudworth's *Intell. Syst.* 468.
sect. 1.

independent of Scripture, upon grounds palpably false, and as a suitable pendant to this rashness, the council anathematized such as made light of traditional sanctions when alleged by the Church^z. Purgatory is another gentile tradition, as will be plain to any one who merely remembers a well-known passage in Virgil^a. One familiar form of the doctrine current among oriental heathens, is the transmigration of souls for purifying and penal purposes. Nor is this form incompatible with Romanism; the council of Trent having merely asserted purgatory, without determining any thing as to the place or manner of it. Romanists, therefore, like Hindoos, may seek it in this world, and consider themselves bound by a Brahminical tenderness for all animated nature. They may conscientiously shudder at inflicting an injury upon any thing alive, for fear of augmenting the misery of some being, once human, perhaps a relation of their own, now undergoing purgatorial transmigration. Such scruples were actually entertained among the ancient Manichees, but not pushed so far as to include men's more minute animal tormentors. Inviolability for these might be inconvenient, though not to the insects; and on this account, probably, they were considered as exempted from purgatorial functions. Some, however, have attributed their exemption to a belief that they were not big enough to hold human souls^b. The transmigration scheme yet flourishes among the Romish

^z Bellarm. *Controvv.* i. 72.

^a *Æn.* vi. 735. See Mosheim. *Eccl. Hist.* new ed. i. 460.

^b Mosheim. *De Rebb. Christ. ante Const.* 869.

peasantry of western Ireland, who believe seals to be antediluvians under penance^c.

The principle of tracing Romish traditions to elder Paganism fails in the case of transubstantiation. But it is a doctrine indelibly stamped with marks of a Pagan origin and growth. Way was made for it, and for all the various demands upon human credulity with which Christians eventually complied, so early as the second century^d. Many heathens of the Platonic school then embraced outwardly the Gospel, but generally with a view of reconciling it with their old philosophy. Thus Christian principles received a base alloy from gentilism, which lowered their standard almost everywhere, down to the time of the Reformation, and still debases it in the majority of churches. While superior minds were thus daily growing more and more debauched by an unscriptural cast of thought, converts of a grosser kind were gained by connivance at their old superstitions, under new names, and adapted, with some improvements, to the calls of Christian worship. Thus the Church rapidly put on a semi-Pagan face, and ground was firmly laid for the ultimate prevalence of usages and opinions that would have shocked many of those who sowed incautiously the seed from which they sprang. To this heathen poison, ever insidiously at work, must be attributed the unscriptural notions, and rhetorical exaggerations, found in the fathers, and rendering them so invaluable to Rome. They have, accordingly, afforded her, though interspersed with

^c Hall's *Ireland*, iii. 408.

^d Mosheim, *De Rebb. Christ. ante*
Const. 310.

matter of an opposite kind, plausible grounds for establishing that eucharistic doctrine which desecrates and perverts the Lord's Supper. It is true, that her modern abuses of this holy sacrament were unknown, until Paganism had disappeared by name from Europe. Traces of it were, however, to be seen in all parts of the church-service, and current religious principles had been so thoroughly amalgamated with it, that, under cover of two or three such centuries of darkness as ushered in the millenary year, there was no difficulty in rooting transubstantiation, or any other doctrine attractive to a superstitious people, and an aspiring clergy.

There are those, perhaps, who would excuse the Pagan face, unquestionably worn by Rome, in consideration of the triumphs over human selfishness to which she can proudly point. Admiration not unmixed with envy, dwells upon the glorious churches, and spacious monasteries with which she covered every region that has owned her sway. Her power, however, here, does not seem to have exceeded that of elder heathenism. St. Peter's is, undoubtedly, a nobler pile than the pyramids of Egypt, but only as a work of art; as an evidence of profound obedience to religious calls, it has no such superiority. From Paganism also came the stupendous relics of Egyptian Thebes, the temple of Belus, once at Babylon, that of Diana, once at Ephesus, the caves of Elephanta and Salsette, in India, the ruined memorials of Mexican superstition, and a variety of works, colossal though rude, found over half the world. Others, with no eye for majestic monuments, would envy Rome her ascetic piety. But she can boast of nothing here, that has not been

equalled, if not surpassed, by Paganism. The Brahminical faith still exacts penances in Hindostan almost incredible; no monk or hermit, certainly, ever taxed his nature farther.

That spectacles of imposing magnificence and perfect self-denial have gained popularity both for the Pagan and the Romish systems, cannot be doubted. But human nature seeks allurements also of a more solid and personal kind. Of those provided by Gentilism it is needless to speak. The papal church provides them abundantly in her exaggerated views of ministerial privileges, and sacramental efficacy. Clergymen are naturally pleased with admitted notions of extraordinary power over the souls of other people, descending to them indefeasibly from the Apostles. They are thus at once invested with a factitious importance that requires neither professional eminence, nor ministerial industry. By the laity, undoubtedly, such pretensions are very liable to be questioned; but upon the whole, where there is any previous preparation for them, they will commonly be well received. Reconciliation above through another's instrumentality is the very doctrine for human indolence and corruption. The wife, who had been contentedly or contemptuously left to seek a deity of her own sex in the Virgin Mary, would often find no difficulty in persuading a dying husband to receive a priest, and go through the forms that have the credit of unlocking heaven.

Such tardy recourse to her presumed authority does, however, no more than confirm the power of Rome. Its main stay is habitual confession. Among

Protestants, a clergyman of distinguished virtue and abilities now and then gives law to a district, or even to a nation. In the papal church, spiritual despotism is attainable by ordinary minds. The prying confessional, always debasing and impertinent, often indecent, enslaves every one who enters it, and gives opportunities to an artful priest of instilling notions that will not bear publicity. Whatever may be the occasional value of such an engine, its establishment is hopeless among those who require Scripture for their faith. Even Romanists, bred as they are to periodical moral exposure, would not undergo it, were it not believed a *way* to secure the soul *more easy* than genuine contrition. Protestants have no catechism, bearing a great appearance of authority, like that of Trent, to lull their consciences with hopes of such *easier ways*. Nor would habitual reading of the Bible give any such a prospect of their confidence. These facts are decisive against sacerdotal hopes of a power over the people like that gained among Romanists. It is unattainable without auricular confession; which can only be established upon general ignorance of Scripture.

Whatever expectations, therefore, sanguine spirits may entertain, neither the Romish system, nor any variation of it, has a chance of superseding the sound Protestantism of England. If the recent reaction were more decided, general enquiry would soon array solid conviction instead of blind prejudice against Romanism. Ignorance has lately befriended the papal church, but its aspect could not become seriously threatening, without placing the materials for exposing it, which abound in libraries, within every

reader's reach. An increased attention to the Romish controversy need, however, involve no revival of old antipathies, or even a wish for political exclusions. Men may carefully consider the opinions of others without claiming any undue advantage for their own, or depreciating those whom they cannot convince. When such consideration is connected with recent Protestant movements, it may be useful to remark that Romish peculiarities have been commonly introduced upon one ground, and retained upon another. Principles, or occasions wore out, but usages that arose from them were continued, and rendered available for purposes entirely new. Rome's penitential system originated in the formal retention of primitive discipline, after it could really be enforced no longer. Purgatory, the invocation of supposed inferior mediators, the worship of images, and various formalities were favourably received by Christians anxious to conciliate Paganism. The necessity for this conciliation came to an end, but principles and usages connived at for its sake, remained. Specious apologies gave them shelter, until they gained a firm footing in the church, and leavened all her doctrine. Hence came Mahometanism, the sanction of image-worship and assertion of the traditional principle, that render the deuterio-Nicene council infamous, together with the sacrilegious mutilation of the decalogue, that has rendered its infamy so palpable. Hence came also an interminable brood of debasing and stupid superstitions, leading eventually and necessarily to a restraint upon Bible reading. These foul blots embarrass and shame papal advocates, and it should not be forgotten, that such confusion has

overtaken them, because their church would not abandon things that had wholly lost their use. The lawfulness, and even expediency of admitting some, or all of these things were most questionable at first. But good men thought favourably of them for the serving of a temporary purpose. The purpose was served, when unhappily connivance was found to have secured permanent possession. Again, it was the church's bounden duty to spread the holy table whenever communicants could be found. But preparation of the table constantly, when communicants could only be found occasionally, has led men into talking of propitiatory sacrifice, disposed them for believing transubstantiation, and given occasion for converting the holy Supper into a dramatic exhibition. By these devices, a new interest has been created for the neglected eucharist, and people witness a glaring abuse under a notion of giving due attendance to a divine institution. In like manner, it was but common sense to provide a Latin liturgy for those who spoke the language, and nothing else would have contented them. But to continue this very service when the language had grown out of use, was neither sense nor justice. It was more inexcusable still to introduce it among people whose tongue had not even a Latin origin, and who, therefore, could not so much as guess the meaning of their public prayers. They must have looked upon them as little else than powerful and mysterious charms. In these days, undoubtedly, Romanists have prayer-books with vernacular translations. But many people even now cannot read, or obtain books, whereas all can understand what is plainly read to them in their

own language, and few things are more pleasing than the attention given to an interesting lesson in a Protestant church. The humble Romanist however is denied this gratification and advantage from the obstinacy of his church in retaining that which had been once adopted, and which, in this case, must have rendered public worship unintelligible to nearly all but the clergy, during those many centuries when books were uncommon, and readers too. More details of this kind are unnecessary. Rome has obviously erred from adherence to form after the spirit had evaporated.

Her infirmity and its results deserve serious consideration from those of the Anglican communion, who fondly picture to themselves long disused formalities, and insist upon realising the cherished image: nay more, of carrying all England in their train. Undoubtedly the ground which they wish to take is not exactly that on which the papal church has placed herself. She seemingly made no innovation. Practice continued, while principle gradually and imperceptibly changed. England is to reverse these things. Change is to affect practice only, and for no other purpose, than to invigorate the very principles that gave it birth. Experience, however, discourages interference with established habit from a view to some advantage merely hypothetical; and practice generally grows out of date, because its use is gone. Some of the proposed revivals of obsolete usages are also liable to objection, from the uncertainty of their establishment in the church at any time. Nothing is less carefully recorded than that which passes under every man's daily observation. Hence the very things that were universally known in

one age, are often investigated with doubt and difficulty by another. This is the case with England's church-service. Full accounts of its habitual celebration at an early period of its existence, have not been produced. An inquirer finds nothing positive to guide him beyond a notice here and there. He is, therefore, left very much to inference from a consideration of rubrics, injunctions, canons, and acts of parliament. A due consideration and comparison of these has not, however, proved very favourable to the party bent upon alteration. Charges of departure from prescribed practice have been most imperfectly established. They seem to have been often made, in fact, with little farther preparation than the reading of some rubrics, without even a careful comparison of all the rubrics together, and without much thought of collateral documents. Hence rubrical inconsistencies, that really are obvious enough, have been overlooked, and immemorial usage has been taxed with a degree of deviation from original sanctions that cannot be substantiated. It is undoubtedly true, that every liturgical arrangement, left by Edward or Elizabeth, is not still in use. But it is equally true, that existing arrangements vary much less than many people fancy from those originally made, and that most of the actual variations are traceable either to legislative interference, or the uncontrollable tide of national habits and opinions.

The liturgical history of Protestant England properly dates from 1548, under Edward VI. A committee of divines then prepared a vernacular service-book, chiefly from the old Latin offices; of which the most objectionable parts were all removed. The new

liturgy was approved by convocation, confirmed by act of parliament, in January, 1549, and brought statutably into general use on the following Whitsunday. It is divided into matins, evensong, a collection of introits, or introductory psalms, with collects, epistles, and gospels, for Sundays and holy-days; "the Supper of the Lord and holy Communion, commonly called the Mass;" the Litany and suffrages; public and private baptism, Confirmation, prefaced by a Catechism extending to the Lord's Prayer; Matrimony, the Visitation and Communion of the Sick; Burial, the Purification of women, and "the First Day of Lent," being the service afterwards called a Commination against Sinners^c.

The compilers were evidently anxious to avoid all unnecessary deviation from established forms. Hence they provided for each day, two secondary services, answering to two of the canonical hours, and a principal service, or mass, besides, for Sundays and holy-days. The secondary services, called matins and evensong respectively, are short, beginning with the Lord's Prayer, and ending with the third collect, that for grace. These services, therefore, want the sentences, exhortation, confession, absolution, four prayers after the third collect, and benediction. No provision is made for a sermon at either of them, and both were evidently meant for services by themselves, to be used one at an early hour of the morning, the other towards the decline of day. For the principal service, or mass, the congregation probably assembled at nine o'clock in the morning, or thereabouts. It opened on Sundays,

^c Cardwell's *Two Books of Common Prayer compared*.

Wednesdays, and Fridays, with the Litany, which was no longer to be said in procession about the church, or churchyard, or both, but in the body of the church, by the priest and his assistants, on their knees. This regulation is not, however, strictly rubrical, but depends upon one of Edward's injunctions, issued in 1547, which was approved in the rubric, with a discretionary power to the crown to change it^f. The reasons given for thus interfering with established usage, are that inconveniences had been found in forming processions, from an over-politeness, in some, and a disposition to contend for precedence, in others, and that an ambulatory choir made itself but imperfectly understood by the congregation. When the Litany was over, the priest was to robe himself in a plain white alb, or narrow-sleeved surplice, over which he was to put a cope, or gaudy dress for the back, and then go to the altar. He was there to say the Communion office, or mass. This began with the Lord's Prayer, and the collect yet used. Then followed the Introit, or introductory psalm for the day, three short addresses for mercy, the hymn that now stands before the final blessing, the mutual benedictions of priest and people, the collect for the king, that for the day, the epistle and gospel, and the Nicene creed; which was to be followed by a sermon, or homily, or by a prescribed exhortation to the communion. This ended, one or more of the offertory sentences were to be read or sung, which were to be succeeded, when there was no communion, by one of the collects yet found at the

^f Sparrow's *Collection*, 7.

end of the office, and the blessing. The prayer now known as that for the Church-militant, is chiefly taken from the canon of the mass, or Romish prayer of consecration, and is joined with the rest of the consecration prayers. It could not be, therefore, used without a communion. When one was administered, instead of a cope, the officiating priest might wear a vestment, or loose robe, reaching from the neck to the feet, and admitting of great variety, both in colour and ornament. It was often made of velvet, or satin, of a blue, red, or green colour, and figured with images, arms, stars, or flowers: even pearls occasionally adding to its gay and gorgeous appearance^b.

These arrangements were evidently prescribed with a view to conciliate Romish prejudice. Men might come to church and join in a service very much like that which they had ever known there, only as it was anciently at Rome, such as every body could understand; weeded also of addresses to dead persons, in all probability out of hearing, and freed from several cumbrous formalities. Farther tenderness for inveterate habit was displayed in Edward's first service-book, by directing the preparation of circular unleavened cakes for the communion, but something larger than the ancient hosts, in order that each of them might be broken for distribution into two or more pieces; and by directing water to be mingled with the eucharistic wine. Auricular confession was also allowed, though

^a The whole is called the *Canon* in the Communion of the Sick. Cardwell's *Two Books of Comm. Pr.* 370.

^b Inventory of effects in the

vestry of York Minster. Dugdale's *Brief Historical Account of the Cathedrals of York, &c.* Lond. 1715. p. 26.

not enjoined, in the communion exhortation provided for a congregation negligent of the sacrament. Prayer for the dead appears in the eucharistic-consecration-prayer, or canon, and in the burial-office. Extreme unction was allowed to sick persons desirous of it, and an appropriate prayer for the purpose is appended to the visitation-office. Uction was also prescribed at baptism and confirmation. The old abuse, however, of communions without communicants, which had proved so prolific of error, was forbidden, and hopes were entertained of shaming it out of countenance in cathedrals and large churches, by finding receivers daily among the numerous establishments connected with them.

Such very temperate and cautious variations from the old Romish system naturally satisfied most moderate men. But many of the more determined Protestants were dissatisfied, and especially such of them as had correspondence abroad. A considerable infusion of continental feeling soon became inevitable; foreigners being invited over to fill university professorships, probably from the known scarcity of competent natives friendly to the Reformation. Hence the new service-book no sooner came into general use, than it found some formidable opponents. Among them was the young king, who had fallen into hands violently hostile to Romanism. Cranmer was averse from any change, but he thought it politic to yield. In consequence, there was a careful review of the service-book, and a new one was brought into use by act of parliament, on All-Saints' day, 1552. It has been thought by divines of the Laudian and non-

juring schools anything rather than an improvement upon the book that it superseded. It omits all unctions and prayers for the dead, and lengthens the morning and evening services by adding the sentences, exhortation, general confession, and absolution. To the principal service, no longer called Mass, the Decalogue was added, but the Introit was taken away. The canon, or consecration-prayer, was divided into two portions: an arrangement for which even Romish liturgical authority may be pleaded, as it is said to consist of five parts, or moreⁱ. Of these parts, the first four were formed into a prayer, to follow the offertory. Edward's first book prefaced the entire canon with, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church:" words which included faithful Christians departed. The second added "Militant here on earth," and thus excluded prayer for the dead: an alteration, which, with the subsequent omission of such prayer in the body of the form, has repeatedly given offence. To the whole communion service was appended a rubric, that this prayer should be used when there is no eucharistic ministration. Still, the former rubric, enjoining, upon such occasions, the use of one or more of the final collects, was allowed to remain. To account for this inconsistency, Bishop Beveridge suggests that a preparation was always to be made for administering the sacrament, and that the priest was only to desist from going on with the service, when he found none ready to communicate with him^j. This

ⁱ Durant. *De Ritibus Eccl. Cath.*
Rom. 1591, p. 416.

^j *Necessity and Advantage of frequent Communion.* Works, i. 558.

view is confirmed apparently by a rubric in the first service-book, which directs, that "the parishioners of every parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the offertory, the just value and price of the holy loaf, (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same,) to the use of their pastors and curates, and that in such order and course as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf^k." In Romish times, these provisions were always needed for the sacrament, for although the people very seldom received, the priest regularly did. But we can easily suppose that human ingenuity about evasions of money-payments did not sleep, when there was no receiving at all. The reviewers, therefore, of the service-book might feel themselves called upon to protect the clergy from pecuniary loss, and at the same time to impress the nation with a conviction, that nothing was farther from their intention than to discourage eucharistic celebrations. They only wished to rid the church of that inveterate and superstitious abuse which constantly placed communion before the eyes of non-communicants, and made it into a mere stage-play. Gaudy dresses were also abolished: bishops being allowed only a rochet, and inferior clergymen a surplice. There was, indeed, little opportunity left for displaying a cope, as the officiator was to stand on the north side of the table; that word being used instead of altar. The main arrangements for public worship appear to have continued unaltered. There were three

^k Cardwell, 314.

services, therefore, as before, on Sundays and holy-days, two shorter than any now in use by six or seven prayers and the benediction, at the two ends of the day, and one, consisting of litany, communion-office, and sermon, in the forenoon.

As Elizabeth revived Edward's second book with some alterations, that is really the liturgical standard of the Church of England, as to doctrine. There have been divines, at intervals, giving a preference to the first book, but such of its principles as are not embodied in the second, have no claim to reception by members of the Anglican communion. The three prayers following the third collect at morning and evening prayers, with the benediction, were added by Elizabeth's authority; the fourth, that for the royal family, was then unnecessary. These additions are not, however, found in prayer-books anterior to 1661, before the end of the litany, though Shepherd thinks them to have been read on days when that service was not used¹. In some particulars, the queen's book made approaches towards her brother's first. The dresses prescribed in it were again enjoined, and its cautious treatment of the real presence was revived, by inserting its mention of the Saviour's body and blood in delivering the sacramental elements, and by omitting the protestation of the second book against adoration of the eucharist. This protestation remained excluded until Charles II.^m On the other hand,

¹ *Elucidation of the Com. Pr.* | ^m Wheatly, 329.
i. 288.

prayer for the dead was formally renounced in an additional set of homiliesⁿ. But altogether, none of the contending parties could deny Elizabeth's book to be a very judicious compromise. Its good effects upon Romish partialities were shown by a general conformity, and with little or no appearance of dissatisfaction, during the queen's first five years^o. Nor until another space of the same length had passed, were secessions at all numerous. An English Roman Catholic body was not formed, until after the pope's deposing bull appeared in 1570, and it did not acquire an aspect of permanence until the Jesuits came over after the lapse of another ten years. Among Protestants, exceptions were unhappily taken to Elizabeth's compromise at an earlier period. Most of those who had found refuge abroad from the Marian persecution, returned with an abhorrence of Popery that would hear of no respect for the prejudices of its professors.

These violent antipathies fastened at first upon clerical habits. Both the dresses prescribed for ministration, and for the ordinary appearance of clergymen in public, were denounced as positively unlawful, because they were derived from the Romish system. Hence the gaudy robes enjoined in King Edward's first book for communion offices, and revived by the act of uniformity, were soon driven out of sight. It was useless to think of gorgeous copes and vestments, while a plain surplice maintained its ground with extreme difficulty. The general disappearance of

ⁿ Third Hom. concerning Prayer. | to Walsingham. Aug. 11, 1570.
Oxf. ed. 1802, p. 283. | Pref. to Heylin's *Ecclesia Vindicata*.

^o Queen Elizabeth's Instructions |

more showy ministering habits was, probably, justified by uncontradicted appeals to royal authority. In the act of uniformity, the queen was empowered, with advice of her commissioners, to make new regulations upon clerical attire. The 30th of her Injunctions prescribes the use of "such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of King Edward VI^r." This regulation really appears to concern only the dress of clergymen in ordinary life, but men might choose to understand it as including habits for officiating, and a desire to still the strife that raged so furiously, might incline the ruling powers to acquiesce in silence under the interpretation. It had the effect of causing ecclesiastics under the episcopal degree, to wear at most, in their ministrations, a plain surplice^a. This practice was recognised in the *Advertisements*, promulgated in 1564, with a certain degree of authority, though not with enough to render them absolutely binding. They restrict copes to sacramental offices in cathedrals, and collegiate churches, and prescribe surplices only for all other occasions there, and for every ritual occasion elsewhere^r. The times were, however, unfavourable even to this degree of possession, and copes appear generally to have been laid aside, Heylin says, "I know not by what fatal negligence^s." The chapter of Canterbury had sold their's in 1573^t. As concessions to Romish prejudice, their use un-

^p Sparrow's *Collection*. 77.

^a Bishop Madox's *Vindication*. 90.

^r Sparrow's *Collection*. 126.

^s Introduction to the *Life of Laud*. 7.

^t Strype's *Parker*. ii. 301.

doubtedly was wholly gone when Jesuitic management moulded the stronger papal partialities into a party that repudiated Protestantism altogether. Moderate churchmen might see, therefore, no occasion for continuing them any longer, and look upon their surrender as a peace-offering likely to preserve externals of a less ambitious kind.

Elizabeth's reign effectually leavened England with Puritanism, but after a struggle that has brought discredit upon both the contending parties. It was not, however, unproductive of good. Men were effectually weaned, in the course of it, from superstitious formalism, and indolent confidence in sacerdotal privileges. They gained also those habits of observing duly the Lord's day, which have done incalculable service to the country. Under James the puritanical element soon received a check. A few alterations were made, indeed, in the church-service, to meet objections advanced against it at Hampton court, but Bancroft, who took the see of Canterbury, towards the close of 1604, soon enforced a degree of conformity long unknown. Among the more conspicuous evidences of this, was the re-appearance of copes in cathedral and collegiate churches. They are prescribed for such establishments, at communion offices, in the canons enacted under Bancroft's presidency while the primacy was vacant^u, and are generally mentioned among furniture to be provided for the larger churches and the royal chapels, during the first two Stuart reigns. They are still worn by the prebendaries of

^u Can. 24.

Westminster at coronations, and the propriety of their appearance at such rare and grand ceremonials, or at any similar displays of wealth connected with religion, few will, probably, dispute. For ordinary purposes, their use is gone. Such pageantry has no chance of shaking Romish prepossessions, and Protestants would commonly consider it unbefitting the sobriety of public worship. The use of copes in parish-churches is, indeed, placed by another canon^x on rather questionable ground, surplices to be provided at the parochial charge, with hoods for graduates, being alone prescribed in reading prayers, and administering sacraments, or other rites. The more gaudy dress is not, however, forbidden, and can plead the rubric, which is statutably binding. Copes, accordingly, seem to have been adopted by some of the parochial clergy, under Charles I., three London incumbents, in 1640, being accused of administering the sacrament in them^y.

Never could such a step have been more indiscreetly taken. But Puritanism was then so rampant that it produced a recoil which seems to have bewildered its opponents. Unhappily their leader was Archbishop Laud, whose many very valuable qualities were balanced by a want of temper and caution that rendered him quite unfit for prominence in times like his. They required skilful management and exemplary moderation, but he was exactly the man, when sorely pressed by one extreme, to run headlong upon the other. Instead of striving to baffle the encroaching spirit of Puritanism, by quietly slackening

^x Can. 58.

| ^y Heylin's *Laud*. 471.

its movements, conciliating its leaders, and seeking palliatives for its objections, he seems to have considered it capable of being overborne by violence, and to have built upon a general conversion of the Roman Catholics as the peculiar glory of his primacy. One of his objects, according to Heylin, was "to settle the Church of England upon the first principles and positions of her reformation:" another was, "to gain Papists to the church, by removing all such blocks and obstacles as had been laid before them by the Puritan faction^z." Of these views, the former was neither warily nor temperately pursued, and the latter was visionary. But he was not a man to see any reason for suspecting unsoundness in either of them, and conscious integrity made him overlook his liability to indiscretion. Hence he involved himself in difficulties that might have been lessened, if not altogether avoided, and retarded reforms, which, being real improvements, more moderate men subsequently carried almost without opposition. He found churches and communion-tables treated with an irreverence of which later generations would have been ashamed; and objections to receive the sacrament at the rails, quite as strong as they would now be to receive at any other place^a. He could not, however, be contented with moderate objects. Hence he rendered obvious amendments unpopular, by coupling them with frivolous formalities, and injudicious advances towards Rome. The soundness of his own convictions against that see's encroachments, and worst corrup-

^z Heylin's *Laud*, 417.

| ^a Kennet's *Complete Hist.* iii. 67.

tions is, indeed, unquestionable, but he allowed expectations of his patronage to be built upon a divinity very likely to betray inferior minds into the papal meshes. No change, therefore, could emanate from him, or receive his sanction without being branded as a *superstitious innovation*^b. Heylin maintains that he only attempted *renovations*^c; and that the odious first syllable was put upon them by "those who out of cunning and design had long disused them." The archbishop himself, with a gravity that became him, avoided the alliteration, and styled them *restorations*^d. This word is not only more dignified, but also more politic, as it must have been often very difficult to convict contemporaries of departure from precedents that had actually been before them. To impugn their practice, it would be generally found necessary to fall back upon some more distant period. But, whatever might be the most correct designation of Laud's reforms, they were novelties to the existing generation, and violently crossed its prejudices. Men were haunted by an excessive and intolerant antipathy to Romanism. This might, perhaps, have been moderated by discreet additions to the decency of public worship, and by shewing the papal church a front firmly but liberally opposed. It was exasperated by persevering attempts to revive every form for which any authority, tolerably producible, could be found, and by attempts made by divines of considerable figure to reconcile Romish principles with Protestantism. Hence, when

^b Heylin's *Laud*. 505.

^c *Ib.* 417.

^d *History of the Troubles and*

Tryal of Archbishop Laud. Lond.
1695. p. 156.

the upper house, in 1641, appointed a sub-committee to consult upon religious questions, doctrinal innovations first came under its notice. Popular members of the house of commons had, indeed, rendered it necessary to take this course^e. "Some complained that all the tenets of the council of Trent had, by one or other, been preached and printed, abating only such points of state-popery against the king's supremacy, made treason by the statute. Good works co-causes with faith, by justification; private confession by particular enumeration of sins, needful, *necessitate medii*, to salvation; that the oblation, or as others, the consumption of the elements in the Lord's Supper, holdeth the nature of a true sacrifice, prayers for the dead, lawfulness of monastical vows, the gross substance of Arminianism, and some dangerous points of Socinianism^f." The learned and exemplary Lancelot Andrewes, who died bishop of Winchester in 1626, was led by deep study of ecclesiastical antiquity, to furnish authority for some of those approaches towards Romanism which did so much harm under Charles I. But his own movements, though always, if justified by established precedent, in the direction of antiquated forms, were most cautiously made, and rather earned a character of superstition for himself, than provoked opposition from others^g. His professed admirers proved quite unequal to restrain or modify the impulse communicated by him to theology. They disgusted the great majority of Protestants by trimming their way close to the papal confines, and led Romanists

^e *Parl. Hist.* ix, 103, 109.

^f Fuller. *Ch. Hist.* b. 11, p. 175.

^g *Ib.* 127.

into a belief that if Puritanism were suppressed, England would soon cease to be a Protestant country^h. Every reason to believe that anxiety for its suppression was uppermost in the minds of leading men was given by those who licensed books for printing. But, like almost every measure of authority in that unhappy age, restrictions upon the press recoiled fiercely upon the party that so indiscreetly used the power of imposing them. Books gladly passed by the examiners did little more than confirm a few clergymen in preconceived opinions, while refusals to license attacks upon Popery, or upon divinity akin to it, were branded as creatures of a spirit more arbitrary and insidious than that which prepares a Roman expurgatory indexⁱ.

Among the demands of Laud's generation, and of one or two besides that immediately preceded it, was that of more than one full Sunday service. It had been the usage of England, as it is yet of foreigners, both Protestant and Romish, to make the Lord's day evening a season for amusement. Puritanism was hostile to this arrangement, claiming the entire Sunday for a respite from all the grosser purposes of life, whether serious or gay, but surrendering unreservedly the festivals to human industry. The notion was, that so much time as even the reformed system had appropriated to piety and relaxation could not be spared in most cases from the calls of business, and that a few days in which religion really predominated were more spiritually serviceable than a greater

^h *Parl. Hist.* ix, 109.

| ⁱ *Ib.* 146.

number in which it was ordinarily the handmaid of pleasure. There were, of course, many, especially among the young, who revolted from this opinion, and James I., in passing through Lancashire, was struck with its unfavourable operation upon the Protestant cause. The Romish clergy took advantage of the impatience with which many bore the loss of amusements, once freely conceded, to paint reformed theology as a morose enemy to the harmless enjoyments of mankind. James was hence induced in May, 1618, to publish a proclamation, commonly known as *The Book of Sports*, authorising amusements on Sundays, under certain restrictions. It was meant for reading in churches, but Archbishop Abbot, being at Croydon, when it was to be read there, flatly forbade it. The king winked at his interference, and being probably informed that farther opposition might be expected, prudently allowed the whole matter to sink silently into oblivion¹. In 1633, Charles I. revived this proclamation with an addition, in which bishops were enjoined to have it published throughout their several dioceses. Many of the clergy, objecting to this, were suspended, or deprived, and the whole transaction acted most unfortunately both upon the church and government. It tended, however, to confirm the country in habits of keeping Sunday with considerable strictness, and thus to break up the original system of a principal and secondary services. Men would not be satisfied without a sermon when they came to church, and, as the rubric did not prescribe one in the

¹ Heylin's *Presbyterians*, 384. Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ii, 188.

afternoon, they gladly paid lecturers out of their own pockets to preach it. Unhappily this proved another source of collision with the constituted authorities. Every difficulty and discouragement was placed in the way of the lecturers, as their friends said, both because they were able and willing to expose Arminianism, and because time enough must be left for a ball, or some other such desecration of Sunday evening. To meet this latter objection, the afternoon service was to be lengthened by catechizing, and sermons were to be allowed, if only connected with that duty. Puritanical clergymen, however, pronounced any mere pedagogue sufficient for a catechist, and rendered sermons, ostensibly built upon the catechism, little different from their ordinary discourses. Hence even these catechetical lectures were discouraged, and church instruction, on a Sunday afternoon, was confined as closely as possible within the trammels of question and answer. Among the follies to which the dislike of afternoon sermons gave birth, was a disposition to disparage preaching altogether. The duty of prayer was pressed upon the people by some of the clergy in such a manner as to throw instruction from the pulpit into the shade. Even the pulpit itself supplied facilities for attacking its own usefulness. Hence John Williams, eventually Archbishop of York, said, in a visitation charge, delivered in 1634, while he was Bishop of Lincoln, "It is a new monster that preachers should preach against preaching^k." All such endeavours, however, proved utterly vain; or, perhaps, rather con-

^k Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*. Lond. 1715. p. 158.

firmed people in demanding the instruction that was so injudiciously depreciated, and, wherever possible, denied. People would not rest contented with an endless round of ritual formalities. Expectations of a sermon at every Sunday duty continually gained strength, rendering by degrees the original system of a principal and two subordinate services irreconcilable with national feeling. An importance, like that reserved by Romanists for mass, was desired in all the public devotions of a Sunday.

This arrangement was promoted by the liturgical alterations that succeeded the Savoy conference, in 1661. Evening prayer was then begun, like morning, with the sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution. To both services likewise were appended the four prayers and benediction, which had hitherto been found only at the end of the litany. There was, therefore, no longer any pretence for omitting them either at morning or evening service. Farther additions were made in giving a permanent place to the prayer for parliament, used occasionally under Charles I., and in providing the prayer *for all sorts and conditions of men*, together with the general thanksgiving. Thus the evening service was considerably lengthened; but there is reason to doubt whether one prayer, now universally used in it, that *for all sorts and conditions of men*, was originally meant for it. Bishop Gunning, the supposed author of that prayer, would not allow it to be read in the chapel of the college over which he presided, St. John's, Cambridge, in the evening; the litany, for which it is a substitute, being prescribed only for

mornings^l. The omission has not, however, continued any where, and a sermon being also common on Sunday afternoons, and evenings too, when there is service, the public worship of England in the latter parts of the day has altogether a very different character from that which it bore in Romish times, and of which Edward's rubrics contemplate the continuance. Nor is there any option of returning to this original form; the liturgical additions being statutably imposed by Charles's act of uniformity, and bishops being empowered recently to enforce even a second sermon^m. Much need not be said of these departures from the old rubrical system. Public opinion demands them, and certainly with great propriety. England now would not be found more friendly to a *Book of Sports* than she was under the first two Stuarts. All ranks require for Sunday a character consistently religious, and hence expect worship of considerable length whenever, on that holy day, the churches are opened. Nor are services without sermons ever found satisfactory. On the contrary, there are such as prefer the national religion, and generally frequent it, who will go to meeting when prayers only are to be heard at church. It would be idle to suppose that such a feeling can be rooted out of the country. Dissenting teachers are sufficient for keeping it alive, and even vigorous. But its vitality and efficiency do not depend upon dissent. Churchmen commonly are quite aware of the inestimable benefits conferred upon mankind

^l Wheatly, 182.

^m 1 and 2 Vict. cap. 106, clause 80.

by preaching, and would fear the prevalence of a heartless or superstitious formalism, if pulpits did not constantly inform the understandings, and arouse the sleepy apprehensions of mankind. Whatever may, therefore, hastily be thought, it seems most unlikely that a general return either to the principles or the practices of Edward's reign, especially to those which guided the compilation of his first service-book, is even possible. Among obvious difficulties in the way of a return to such antiquated usages, is the time now prescribed by statute for the publication of banns. Abroad, we hear them published, in Romish churches from the pulpit, when the clergyman goes up to preach, during the communion service, or mass. Probably, the same habit prevailed in England anciently, and hence any particulars respecting it were deemed unnecessary by those who compiled the liturgy. The original rubrics, accordingly, merely enjoin the publication of banns, on three succeeding Sundays, or holy-days, during service-time. But ancient practices were overthrown in the civil wars, which might occasion the direction that appeared, after the last review, to publish banns immediately before the offertory, that is, at the old time. The marriage-act, however, enjoins this publication after the second lesson. Now, the principal one of the old rubrical services has no lessons, and matins, or the morning service, would, probably, if restored, begin about eight o'clock, or earlier, in the morning. At such an hour, no large attendance could be expected; a return, therefore, to rubrical practice, would here nullify the legislative wish to secure pub-

licity. The church, as in Romish countries, would not receive its full congregation, until the litany began, as precursor of the communion-service and sermon, about eleven. Thus matrimonial announcements, made three or four hours before, would commonly find much of the concealment that is often desired in such cases, but which is, upon many accounts, very far from desirable. A remedy for this difficulty has been suggested in the double publication of banns, once, according to statute, after the second lesson, and subsequently, according to the rubric, after the Nicene creed^a. But negligence would often interfere with this twofold care, and private considerations occasionally, even if all the clergy were agreed as to the propriety of change. Such unanimity is not, however, to be expected at any time, and has rarely seemed more hopeless than in the case of recent proposals to alter the church-service. Difficulties, therefore, about the publication of banns, are alone sufficient to call for legislative interference, if a strict rubrical system were attempted. Its partial revival is liable to many objections, which can easily be seen, but not specified, or even urged in a general way, without invidiousness, and risk of offence. It may, however, be allowably said in defence of immemorial possession, that it is not likely to have been established on slight and insufficient grounds. The soundness of this presumption has been signally shown in the case of our liturgical usages. Attempts to find a legal standing for

^a Scobell's *Few Thoughts on Church Subjects*. Lond. 1843. p. 4.

several proposed alterations, have had a degree of ill success, that was little anticipated in any quarter, when such matters were first narrowly examined.

Should materials exist, and be eventually discovered, for rendering this examination complete in all its parts, a bare return to the system that it might disclose, could satisfy no party. Indifferent observers would despise a mere transition from one set of forms to another more elaborate. Those who really desired the change, and had laboured for it, would at least require the divinity of Laud's partisans, to accompany his formalities. They might even go farther, and struggle for such approaches to Rome as very few Englishmen have contemplated before the late reaction in her favour. Indications of a leaning this way lately have not been wanting. An importance has been given to the Fathers which the Church of England, fairly heard, refuses, and which the writings of these ancient divines will not substantiate. It is true, that in 1571, the upper house of convocation signed some canons, chiefly prepared by Archbishop Parker, and the Bishops Cox and Horne, which inhibit preachers from delivering any doctrine but such as is agreeable to the Bible, and "collected out of it by the Fathers and ancient bishops^o." These canons were not, however, signed by the lower house, or authorized by the crown, and the restriction upon preaching merely goes to restrain hasty and unscholarly men from assuming the sense of scripture without any warrant from established authority. It can obviously have no

^o Sparrow's *Collection*, 238. Strype's *Parker*, ii. 60.

neutralizing effect upon the sixth article, which, with all its fellows, that very convocation expressly approved, and which denies any doctrine's claim to belief, unless it "is read in Scripture, and can be proved thereby." The Church of England has no other standards of doctrine than Scripture, and her own formularies. She does not send men for articles of faith to the multitudinous, various, rhetorical, and perplexing pages of the Fathers^p. In this enormous mass of obsolete erudition are to be found proofs, such as they are, of every point in Popery, and of the millennium besides, with other things which now nobody believes. Reference, therefore, to the Fathers, for any doctrine which cannot be established by the Bible, Liturgy, and Articles, is altogether irrelevant on the part of any member of the Anglican communion. Without such reference, however, freely conceded, there is no prospect of that doctrinal revolution in England which is necessary to preserve a ritual revolution from utter contempt. People must be drawn over to a considerable degree of the reliance upon sacramental acts, religious formalities, and private sacerdotal intervention, which give life to Romanism, before they will value new and more operose externals. This reliance could, however, be only founded upon a deference for tradition which the general information, independent spirit, and cool sense of Englishmen, would soon shew to be hopeless. The experiment has been tried since Laud's miserable time. Attempts were made in favour of a theology looking

^p See Daillé's *Right Use of the Fathers*, a very useful book, which | was reprinted with improvements by the Rev. G. Jekyll, in 1841.

towards Rome, by the non-jurors, a hundred years and more, ago. They were commonly learned men, and their party was formed by distinguished sufferers for conscience' sake. Still, all their exertions failed: or, if they had any effect at all, it was only the disadvantageous one, of discrediting high-church views and the information to sustain them. Upon the religious apathy that followed, arose the successful movements of Wesley and Whitfield, which professed connection with the church, and hence extensively annihilated most of the coarser objections to it. The labours of these remarkable men have added, however, greatly to the difficulties of giving a semi-Romish complexion to the religion of England. They have, indeed, effectually cured people generally of violent antipathies to prayer-book, surplice, and episcopacy, but they have left unaffected a prevailing disposition to question religious formalism, inherent sacerdotal privileges, and overstrained ecclesiastical authority.

A century passed under such influences has undoubtedly strengthened the Church of England, but it has done nothing towards the acquisition of a clerical importance, now scarcely found even in countries which have been denied the light of Protestant information. Men are now decidedly unfavourably to the priestly power of former times, not only on account of its tendency to engross worldly objects, but also from spiritual considerations. People of liberal minds readily do homage to professional talent, and industry, but have little respect for claims to extraordinary and unascertainable spiritual prerogatives. However this tone of the public mind may be regretted by a few

spirits enamoured of the dark ages, its existence is undeniable, and prospect of overcoming it there is really none. It can, in fact, reckon upon support, more or less, from the whole dissenting body, the church-party called evangelical, the political circles, most lay churchmen, and a majority of the more influential clergy. No exertions of a serious kind to master this formidable opposition, could be made without considerable danger. Not only would such efforts unsettle ordinary minds by making a fresh class of demands upon acquiescence, but also they are very open to colourable misrepresentation. When clergymen magnify sacramental efficacy, and claim its ministration, as their own indefeasible right, it is plain, that, however innocently, they are pleading for themselves. The next step, in such a course, is to demand the power of persecution. If mere ordination is to concern mankind so vitally, surely those who have this incalculable advantage, ought with it to have the means of compelling reluctant spirits to come within its range. Such objections to a movement, essentially sacerdotal, may seem the mere dreamy foresight of a studious recluse, when politics do not bear heavily upon the church. But let a different scene present itself, and positions, now gravely drawn from Fathers, and other long-forgotten sources, with no sinister design, will be paraded as irrefragable proofs of a clerical conspiracy against the liberties and purses of mankind. All the learning that some have thought so likely to regenerate the country, will be denounced at once as artful nonsense dragged from its hiding-places by shallow vanity, restless ambition, or sordid

selfishness. England enjoys just now a happy respite from the bitterness and fever of party strife. Therefore clergymen may magnify their ministerial commission, without provoking any more serious accusation than that of claiming a visionary importance for their own order. But seasons of tranquillity are seldom of any long continuance in this country. From the denseness of its population, it must always teem with distress and difficulty, which never exceed the average amount, without producing unusual clamour. Then obloquy falls immediately upon the clergy. The wealth possessed by them as a body tempts cupidity, their admittance to superior society provokes the envy of haughty success, excluded from it, their sedative influence over lower life makes them hateful to political incendiaries. Very few years, accordingly, have passed, since the higher clergy shrank, and with great reason, from contact with a misguided populace. They were desirous of giving up their habitual distinctions of appearance, and to pass unnoticed through the busy crowd of men. No sensible man doubts that such a time may soon recur. Materials for bringing it back are, indeed, storing up every day, in spite of the comparative peace which England now enjoys. Why make it more difficult to stem a new tide of clerical unpopularity, by giving revolutionary politicians a colourable pretence for denouncing the whole ecclesiastical body as a mass of selfish hypocrites? Claims and principles, which really are the offspring of nothing worse than harmless vanity, mistaken zeal, and misdirected learning would readily supply materials for a specious charge of priestcraft. The charge would

eagerly be made, and industriously supported by many who did not half believe its truth. Nor would an excited people generally refuse it acquiescence, until its accuracy should be sufficiently examined. Charles the First's clerical supporters were hunted down amid sweeping cries of Popery and Arminianism. After times may hence learn the danger of supplying enemies with effective materials for inflaming popular prejudice.

The church, at present, really has no temptation thus to find weapons for using against herself. Laud's indiscretions were provoked by a hostile party within her bosom, and by various irregularities that required correction. The religious party, however, that gave so much trouble then, has left no exact successor: its theology having descended upon men, who respect established discipline, and externals of every kind, if only sanctioned by immemorial usage. Nor are the decencies of churches, or of public worship, any where disregarded. Undoubtedly there is an extensive prevalence of dissent, especially in towns, chiefly among the lower sections of middle life. But a large population is never likely to be free from considerable differences of religious opinion, without an Inquisition, or something like one. The classes, too, most fruitful in dissent, are extensively pervaded by cramped but aspiring spirits, that require ministers nearer their own condition and habits, than are the great majority of clergymen. Still, notwithstanding every element of nonconformity that English society supplies, there is a general preference for the national religion. Estrangement from it has more flowed, perhaps, from the want of church-room, than from any other single cause.

Men did not cease to worship as their fathers had done before them, because they thought those fathers wrong, but because they had not sufficient opportunity of treading in their steps. Population increased with surprising rapidity, and scarcely any additional means of religious instruction were provided within the establishment, beyond the occasional erection of a proprietary chapel. Hence many engaged seats at meeting, merely because they could find no room at church, and many more, whose preference for their ancestral faith was not so decided, would, notwithstanding, have attended its ordinances, had it been readily within their power. For the great mass in crowded towns, scarcely any accommodation could be afforded in the churches; and as inferior life is commonly neither satisfied with nonconformity, nor willing to pay for religious instruction, it became extensively overspread with infidelity. The country was, however, at length aroused to the duty of church building, and adherents to the national religion multiply quite as fast as places for their accommodation. To keep these places full, and increase their number, nothing more is wanted than a continuance of that ministerial zeal, and professional ability, which have long been regularly upon the increase among the clergy. That any useful end would be answered by a great addition to public worship, merely liturgical, may well be doubted. National habits and opinions are not favourable to an engrossing round of ritual formalities, nor is the continued efficiency of such a system a matter of reasonable calculation. It has been tried, and has failed. Another trial would, probably, have the same result. As hopes

of its beneficial operation on the public die away, it must be found an irksome charge, and bring discredit on the church by the slovenliness and irregularity of its performance. Clergymen, like all the world besides, need restraint and stimulus, from publicity. Let ministrations be exacted from them in churches empty, or nearly so, and a stray visitor, or angry neighbour, will furnish, every now and then, some ill-natured but well-founded picture of their negligence. For their own credit alone, therefore, they will do wisely to distrust a Romish estimate of religious forms which scarcely any body will attend. The papal school is, indeed, little fitted for teaching much to clergymen more valuable than certain branches of worldly policy. The principles and practices of Rome are incurably distasteful to the great majority of Englishmen. Any thing, therefore, that savours of regret for the high Protestant character, in which the country justly glories, would paralyze its Christian liberality, and throw away the advantages which the church has gained, and is gaining, over nonconformity.

A disposition to romanise would also, if not checked in time, produce fresh divisions in the church. During several years, party spirit among her members has been losing breadth and intensity. On one side, doctrine has gained a prominence which was rarely seen in divines, then called high-church, forty years ago; on the other, an anxiety has been shewn to maintain a character of genuine churchmanship. Thus the two parties, which were in active opposition to each other, within the memory of even young men, have settled down together on friendly terms of mutual

forbearance and respect. Besides, indeed, a common acquiescence in established formularies, they think alike upon various subjects fundamentally important. They agree in excluding tradition from an eminence that would overshadow the Bible, and are equally unanimous in placing externals immeasurably below vital religion. An entire agreement between them seems unlikely, there being several questions on which their views considerably differ. The probability, therefore, is, that a continuance of recent controversies would occasion a new party among professors of the national religion. Of this evil, if it should really overtake the country, the innovators must wholly bear the blame. They have suddenly made a call for various changes in public worship, of which no one suspected the least necessity, and very few can see any now; which are obnoxious besides to the great majority of churchmen. They could not fairly, therefore, complain of a reluctance to obey such a call, even if it involved no more than an increase, and rearrangement of mere formalities. In every thing, human nature dislikes needless interference. But, in this case, unimportant forms are not alone at stake. Among those who would urge them forward is a writer who expresses a desire “to unprotestantise the national church^p.” Many who now seek external changes have, probably, no such extraordinary and suspicious inclination; but with some of their leaders it is otherwise, and, after all, the bulk of men in every party are

^p In the *British Critic*, for July, 1841. See Bird's *Plea for the Reformed Church*, Lond. 1841, p. 8; and the same Author's *Defence of the Principles of the English Reformation*, Lond. 1843, p. 2.

goaded on to action by a few stirring spirits. Hence opinions are often taken up with little foresight of the consequences to which intemperate partisans are impelling them. But when men are fairly committed in a cause, pride will commonly keep them in adherence to it, although principles are gradually developed little in accordance with many of their original views and intentions. Experience, therefore, justifies those whose just perception of their spiritual privileges keeps above a thought of *unprotestantising* England, in declining any concessions to such as can talk thus wildly. The language may flow from an individual's rashness, but it reveals a feeling that has fastened on his party. This really has advanced many notions tending to undermine the sound Protestantism of England. Such therefore, as know the value of a faith purely scriptural are bound to protect its hold on the less informed, by declining to follow in the wake of those who are artfully or blindly steering towards Rome. They are not justified in swelling the importance of divines who turn that way, even by accepting them, without sufficient examination, as ritual authorities. They have seen, however, little or no reason for such a deference as this, inconsiderable as it is; attempts to convict existing ritual usages of unauthorised innovation having generally failed^a. If recent movements, therefore, should maintain their ground, a schism like that of the non-jurors, or one more favourable to Popery, may be apprehended. Undoubtedly

^a A great deal of information on this subject is very well brought together in Robertson's *How shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?* Lond. 1843.

it would be likely to dwindle soon away; but not until it had effected serious mischief. The established religion has been rapidly, but securely gaining efficiency and popularity, during several years. A new division in its adherents must act upon it disadvantageously. There is room, however, for hoping, that so great a misfortune may even yet be avoided. The recent movement is essentially sacerdotal, and has, therefore, but little prospect of gaining any great popularity among the better-informed laity. As this becomes more felt, and the unsoundness of much that has been put forth by the innovating party, becomes better known, a disposition to rally around well-considered principles may rise like a tutelary genius to the nation's view. If it should prove so, a compact body of innovating partisans will never gain a defensible position, and after a few years of unavailing struggle, the whole movement may leave no trace of its existence out of libraries.

If a new party, should, however, arise within the church, on the ruins of ancient prejudices, against Romanism, the recent reaction will have proved a national misfortune. Posterity may say, that we have rushed from one extreme to the other. There is really, however, no reason for such inconsistency. Opposition to the papal system may have been pushed, in former years, to unwarrantable lengths; but it always rested upon solid ground. Romanists have never been able to make any satisfactory defence of their peculiarities. The more prominent and popular portion of them is undefended, and all the rest can find no better champions than mysti-

fiction and evasion. Hence there is no reason to follow, or even to fear, the papal church. Nor is there the slightest hope of any concessions from her. The Vatican's numerous and severe humiliations have left it still able to resist. Approaches to its tricrowned lord, must be, therefore, made not with a delusive hope of obtaining terms, but in a disposition to follow at his bidding. But it may be reasonably asked, Why should any terms be sought with Rome? What offer can she make worthy of a Protestant's acceptance? His church is built upon the rock of Scripture, the papal on the quicksands of tradition. There is a firmness, therefore, in Protestant arguments, which Romanists may envy, but must seek in vain. Arguments, however, that have this quality must be really Protestant, not swerving from their holy bearing and stern resolve under the fascination of meretricious blandishments, wafted from the seven celebrated hills. While a stand is firmly taken on the Bible, and tradition treated merely as a useful handmaid, no Romish artifice or learning will be found of much avail. But papal weapons can seldom be wielded well by any other than papal hands. Here and there, a Protestant can turn them successfully against Rome. They are far too numerous, miscellaneous and ambiguous, for much use by the great bulk of those who would escape error themselves, or be free from the imputation of leading others into it. Let an English churchman, therefore, turn away from every doctrine as "erroneous and strange^r,"

^r *Ordering of Priests.* Engl. Com. Pr.

which is not unquestionably revealed in Scripture, and clearly embodied in the formularies of his venerable church. When these authorities are wanting, to plead a sanction from the Fathers is illusory and idle. The ponderous and all-but interminable tomes of ancient theology have, unquestionably rendered important services to the church, in establishing discipline and convicting of innovation. As doctrinal authorities, independent of Scripture, or in forced concurrence with it, they have done incalculable mischief. It was to relieve God's undoubted word from such sacrilegious tyranny that Luther and his followers unravelled the web which school-divinity had woven. It was to keep its toils from entangling Englishmen any more, that Cranmer, Ridley, Parker, Jewel, gave them the protection of our Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies.

The return of England generally to Rome is rendered, probably, by her long possession of these invaluable safeguards, quite impossible. Nor is the country by any means ready to receive a semi-Romish system of religion. But human objections to trouble affect religious questions, as they do all others. Hence a considerable section of the people might be gradually won over, if pains were not taken to keep men above such a fascination, to a public worship with more formality, and theatrical effect than have hitherto been usual. Even less difficulty might be found in extending a reliance for salvation, upon sacraments and ceremonies administered by the church. The ignorant sick now commonly prefer a clergyman's reading to his conversation. Hence numbers might be brought easily to think little of spiritual danger, if they could

only obtain extreme unction, or go through any other ritual formality. A vicarious religion, in which the soul is quietly considered as almost entirely under the keeping of the priesthood, and very much in its power, has, indeed, many charms for man. Scripture gives, however, no countenance to such enchanting dreams, but sternly rests spiritual safety upon a thorough change of mind. Men are, therefore, to be plainly warned against an indolent and superstitious confidence in outward forms. They require to be trained in habits of thinking everything undone, until a mighty change is wrought in their inward frames. When this point is gained, hallowed rites are beneficial; trust in them before is very likely to betray the soul. The Church of England has hitherto wisely steered between dissenting neglect, and Romish over value, of externals. Deviation from this discreet and happy course would cause division among the well-informed and disputatious, among the weak and ignorant, a blind and illusive dependence upon ordinances. Evils like these would make the acquisition of more kindly feelings towards Romanism, indeed a costly purchase. But opposition to it may advantageously become more liberal, discreet, and courteous, if it only continue firm and uncompromising as ever. Adherents to the papal church may thus be led away from delusive expectations, and more discerning minds among them may gradually suspect unsoundness in their peculiar principles. But when approaches towards them follow closely upon long-resisted admittance to civil privileges, they may naturally refer former objections to selfishness, rather than conviction. This is one reason why

we should not wish for a return to the very ground which our fathers first took when they left the papal church. Besides, both Edward's and Elizabeth's original arrangements have lost their use, which was the weaning of England from Romanism, and probably could not be restored in their full integrity. An incomplete restoration would be likely to produce new demands. Hence the more prudent course is to leave immemorial usage in undisturbed possession. It has been shown by recent inquiries to have taken no unauthorised position. Few persons, probably, when ritual innovation first came forward, thought it so indifferently provided with a case. But suppose its friends had been more fortunate, it seldom ventures to claim attention, except as a powerful check to Protestant nonconformity. That it would prove so, if the country followed its directions, may well be doubted. Churchmen could hardly take a semi-Romish attitude without giving new advantages to Dissenters. Were genuine Protestant feelings driven from the church, they would take refuge in the meeting, and so augment its power as to endanger those endowments which carry sound religion into every corner of the land. Dissent will mock at assertions of its unlawfulness, however learnedly supported. It knows the impotence of more elaborate externals. It sees its own advantage, when clergymen eager to coquet with Rome, utter graceless and infatuated reflections on the Reformation. Its chief influence over the calmer spirits rests on able preaching, and opponents to be feared, must equal, or surpass it here. With sufficient church-room, and well considered

sermons well delivered, the established religion will ever be found an over-match for nonconformity. The odds would soon be reversed, were clergymen generally to follow the Laudian and nonjuring schools. Vainly would Fathers give their aid, and pains be taken to prove the country's confidence indefeasibly their own. English intelligence, intrenched on the Bible and the Reformation, would receive no doctrine from tradition, or let a ritual yoke weigh down vital religion.

THE END.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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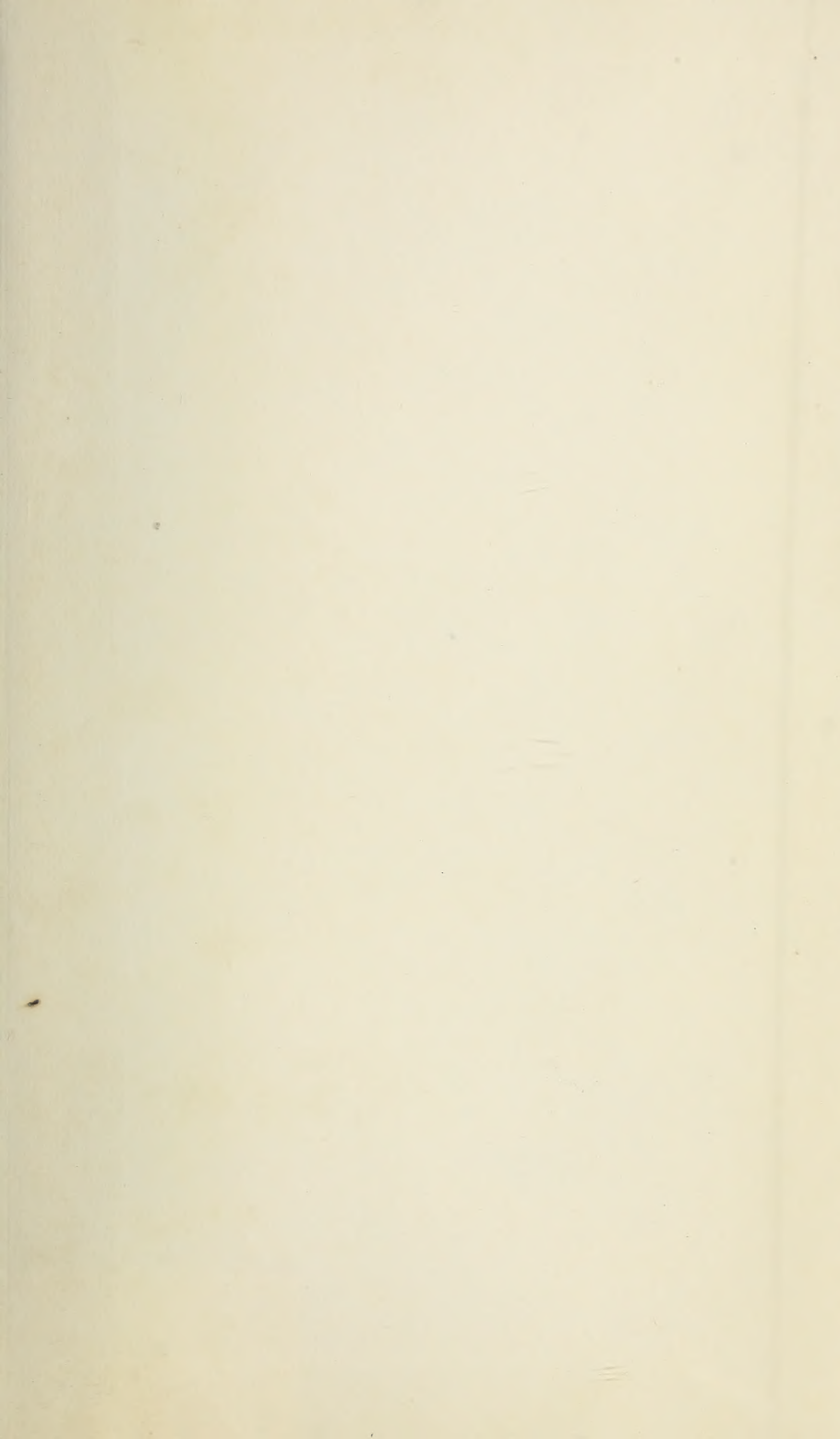
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